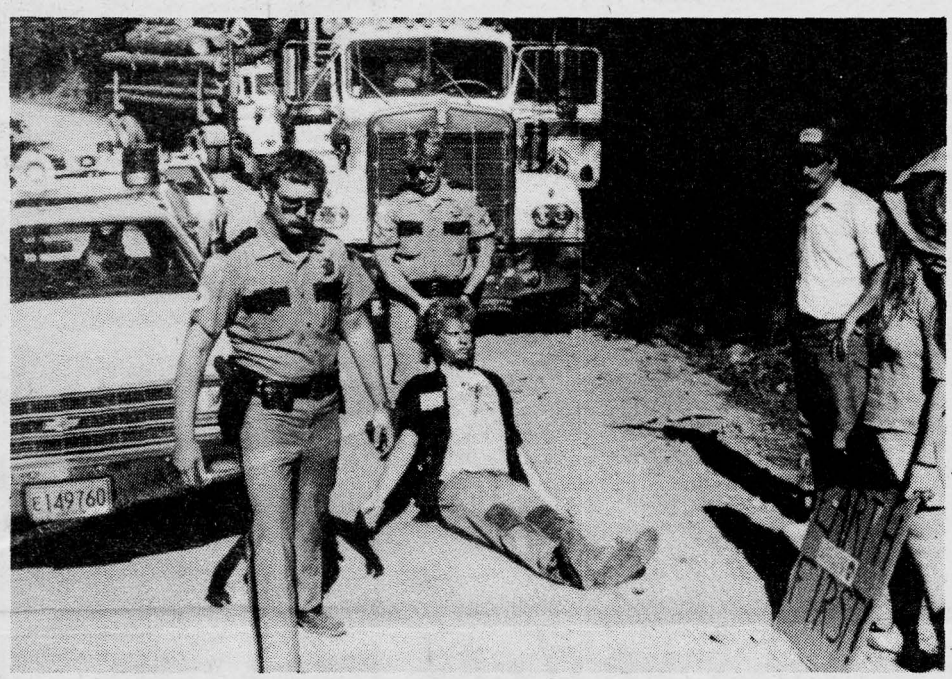
EARTH FIRST!

LUGHNASADH EDITION

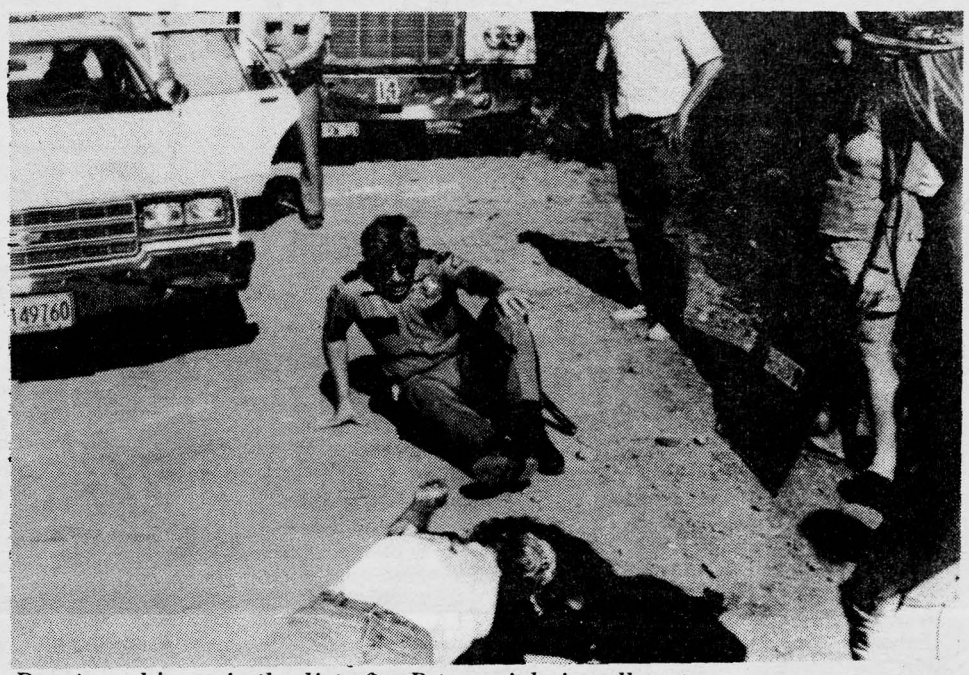
August 1, 1984 Vol. IV, No. VIII

THE NO-COMPROMISE ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL ONE DOLLAR

BLOCKADERS ROUGHED UP IN MIDDLE SANTIAM



Deputy drags Steve Peterson by the hair.



Deputy on his ass in the dirt after Peterson's hair pulls out.

MONTANA EARTH FIRST! TAKES SENATOR'S OFFICE

by Peggy Bond

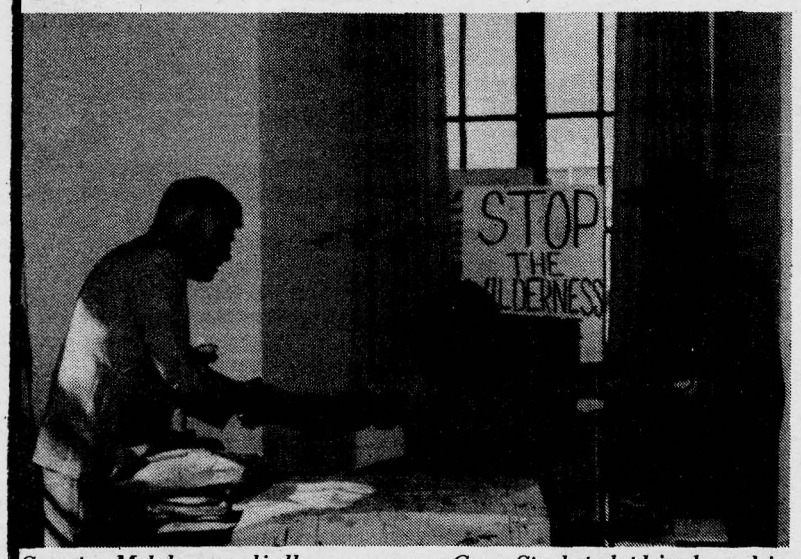
A DREAM COME TRUE

It was Tuesday morning, July 11, 1984. Earl Hiett and Howie McDowell arrived at the Federal Office Building in Missoula, Montana, to open U.S. Senator John Melcher's office. They anticipated a routine day. At 9:15 a.m., twenty members of Earth First! entered requesting a meeting with the Senator to present their demands regarding the recently proposed Montana Wilderness Bill. Howie McDowell answered that the Senator was traveling in the State and would not return to Missoula until Thursday morning. Smiling, members of Earth First! announced they would wait in the office until then.

The press – newspaper, television, and radio – arrived: the word was out. Earth First! was occupying the office until Senator Melcher agreed to hold public hearings on this outrageously anti-wilderness bill, or until the EF! members were arrested.

Tuesday was a long day of waiting and anticipation for EF! members. Several remained in the office at all times, while others carrying pro-wilderness placards marched before the Federal Building. Passersby in general were supportive, taking the EF! fact sheet and pledging to call the Senator's office. Inside, Earl and Howie were pleasant to their new officemates, but found it difficult to continue their work due to the

continued on page 7



Senator Melcher cordially encourages Gary Steele to let him have his chair back. Larry Campbell looks on. Photo by Chris Owen.

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by Matt Veenker

On Tuesday, July 17, Earth First! and the Cathedral Forest Action Group blockaded the logging of the Middle Santiam again. But this blockade was different. The sheriff's deputies turned brutal. The following is a report from 12-year-old Matt Veenker (Cecelia Ostrow's son).

I was recently an observer and supporter of the latest Cathedral Forest Action Group blockade, the outcome of which turned my stomach.

The day before the action, my family had arrived at our favorite campsite and set up camp. Other activists trickled in slowly until by noon of the next day our numbers had grown to 34 people.

As we all sat in a circle discussing our plans, justifications and non-violent code, we were interrupted by the sound of a logging truck coming down the road. We quickly decided to blockade it. It stopped and we all said hello to the truck driver who some of us had met on previous blockades.

Another logging truck came and was stopped. Then the "crummy," the workers' transportation vehicle came and was stopped. We later let it through to let the workers go home to their wives, children and TV. In the end we had stopped or delayed seven vehicles. Some of the workers went swimming, we offered them watermelon, they moved their trucks so we could have our blockade in the shade, and we all talked to each other for about five hours.

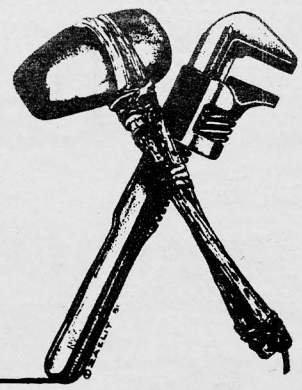
Then a solitary police officer arrived. We reformed our circle and sang songs. The officer, in a rough and tough manner, told us to disperse. We refused and he called in reinforcements. He then told the press that as long as they were there, nothing would be done. The press left. I believe this was wrong. Whatever happened to "freedom of the press?"

When police reinforcements arrived, six people sat in the road and were cheered by the rest of us. The police came in and with various profanities and low voices ordered them to move. Quite obviously these police officers had not enjoyed the ride up and now took out their anger on us. The first person's arms were twisted back and he was dragged away. Then they stopped, grabbed his beard and pulled him to the waiting police car by it. The others were treated the same. One large man, Steve Peterson, a good friend of mine, was dragged all the way by his hair. This would be the equivalent of an average man being dragged by his hair with a diving belt of weights around his waist. Finally, handfuls of his hair pulled out and the officer fell in the dirt.

This enraged us. Some of us screamed comments dripping with sarcasm, others just screamed. I was appalled.

Such savagery and brutality are unnecessary. There are countless other ways to deal with non-violent demonstrators, which were used at our other demonstrations because the press was there. There ought to be a law! I've lost my childish idea that police are perpetrators of good.

EARTH FIRST!



"NO COMPROMISE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!"

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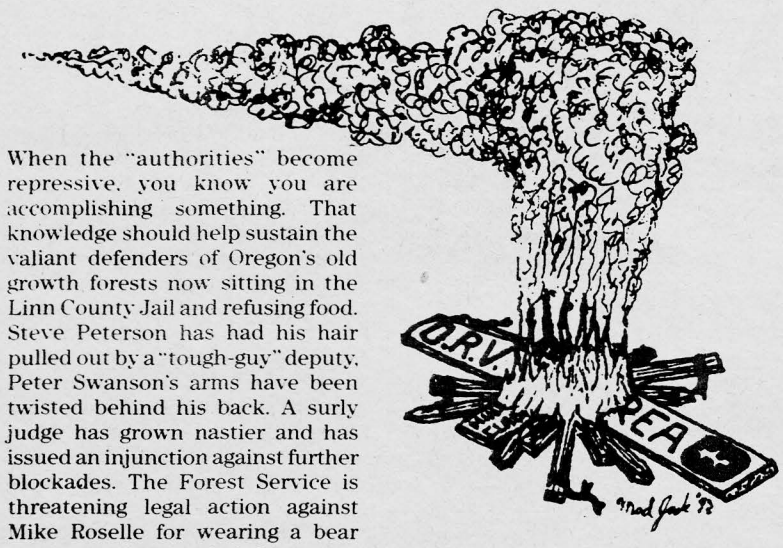
Around the Campfire



When the "authorities" become repressive, you know you are accomplishing something. That knowledge should help sustain the valiant defenders of Oregon's old growth forests now sitting in the Linn County Jail and refusing food. Steve Peterson has had his hair pulled out by a "tough-guy" deputy, Peter Swanson's arms have been twisted behind his back. A surly judge has grown nastier and has issued an injunction against further blockades. The Forest Service is threatening legal action against Mike Roselle for wearing a bear costume (claiming it infringes on their copyright on Smokey). And – most recently – the cops have arrested visible activisits of the Middle Santiam effort on felony charges for refusing to aid them in arresting blockaders. These repressive measures by the toadies of the big timber corporations demonstrates that the Cathedral Forest Action Group and Oregon Earth First! are making headway in their heroic campaign to stop the logging of the 300-foot tall Doug firs of the Middle Santiam. Do what you can for them. Send them a couple of bucks to help. If you can't send money, just drop them a note saying you appreciate their battle. They've lost hair, gained bruises, given up food and cheerily accepted jail as a small price to pay for the continued survival of trees that were old when Columbus sailed "the sea of blue." Like Martin Luther King, sitting in the Birmingham jail, they know that they are not imprisoned, but that they are free and their jailers are in chains.

The next time someone grumbles nihilistically, "Where have all the heroes gone?", point to the Linn County Jail.

By the time you read this, I'll be splashing through the streets of Juneau, gazing on the icebergs of Glacier Bay, waiting for Denali to break through the clouds, hobnobbing with grizzlies and Orcas, and stirring up a little trouble in Alaska. When Nancy and I return from Alaska in September we will be moving operations to Tucson, Arizona. Please don't use the Chico address any longer. Send any mail to us to the Ely, Nevada, address and it will be forwarded.

Now, a potpourri of minor details before I catch the ferry in Seattle: Some folks who have been using droll aliases have been having trouble receiving their copies of *Earth First!*. If you want to use an alias, fine, but make sure that your postman knows that "Attila the Hun" or "Bigfoot" or "Mad George" or "Truemen Peyote" gets mail there, too. And ... send us your new address when you move. The Post Office does *not* forward bulk mail.

Our subscription campaign has been most successful and we've nearly doubled our list since last November. Thanks to all of you who have helped. You still have until November 1, 1984, to get new subscribers credited to you. No one as yet has qualified with 20 new subscribers for one of our top three prizes. Get those new subscribers in. See page 22 for details on the subscription contest. By the way, we are going to have to jack our subscription price up to $15 a year after November 1. We hate to do it but it is the only way we can continue to put out the paper. Of course, our old policy still stands: if you don't have the bucks, we will *give* you a subscription to *EF!*. Our goal is inspiration, not a fat bank account.

You may have noticed a small change on the masthead: we've been calling ourselves the "No-Compromise Environmental Journal" instead of the "Radical Environmental Journal." We did that for two reasons. First, we were being referred to as "the self-proclaimed radical environmental group." That's sort of weird. If you're radical, you shouldn't have to announce it. Second, are we really radical? Some of us think that we're *conservatives*, that the "radicals" are Ronald Reagan, John Crowell, Steven Bechtel, and the other industrial maniacs tearing the place up. (How can you be more conservative than really being a Neanderthal?) But a number of folks have criticized the masthead change. What do you think? "Radical?" "No-Compromise?" Or something else?

Hey! Lotsa meat in this issue. You can discover it for yourself. The next issue will be put together by a guest editor (who may or may not decide to reveal himself/herself).

One final note: Yes, there are strong words in some of the articles in *Earth First!*. There are sometimes criticisms of other groups and individuals in the environmental movement. They represent an outpouring from the real grassroots. *Earth First!* is an open forum for the discussion of the environmental movement. There are many opinions expressed in these pages. Don't piss and moan and whine to me if there's something in here you take offense to. Write a sensible reply. Intellectual and emotional diversity – within the parameters of Deep Ecology and No-Compromise Action – is what we're after in this little journal. If there's not something in each issue to irritate you at least a little bit, then we ain't makin' you think.

– *DF*

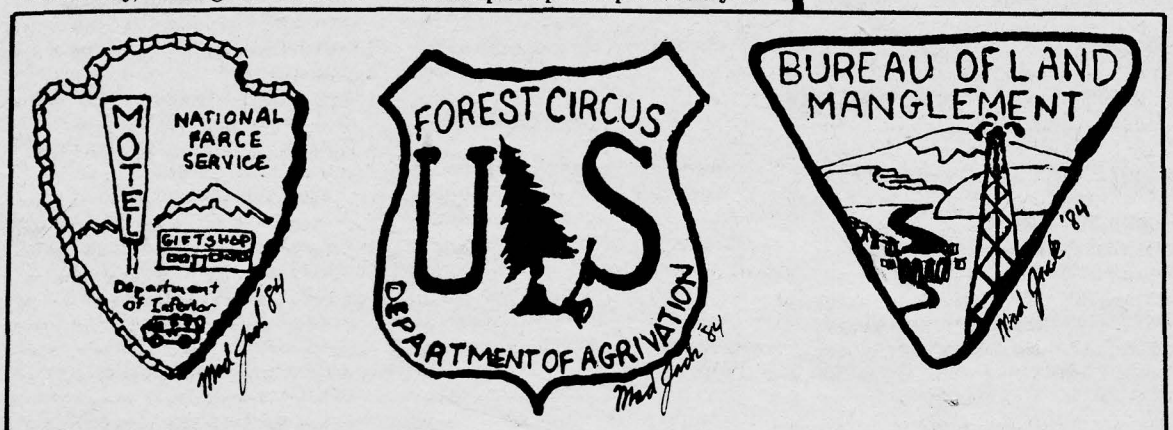
Letters to the editor are encouraged. Lengthy letters may be edited for space requirements. Letters should be typed or carefully printed and double-spaced, using only one side of a sheet of paper. Be sure to indicate if you wish your name and location to appear or if you wish to remain anonymous. Send to 230 West 7th Avenue, Chico, CA 95926

Dear *Earth First!*

An idea occurred to me, and I thought I would send it to you and maybe you could use it to save all wilderness. My favorite place to save is the Southwest and especially Arizona.

Well, anyway, here is my idea. Environmentalists and all wilderness advocates want to save the wild because it deserves to be saved and this is *Right!* My idea deals with a new line to take to get the saving done. Over in Europe and other foreign places they have a lot of special things and places they are saving – because they are special or historical or just plain amazing. Like Roman ruins, the sphinx, pyramids, old castles ... the list could be endless. But, what about America is special, historical or just plain amazing? Answer: Our land, wilderness. There is nothing better. The European treasures are all man-made. Ours are God-made.

Can the Roman ruins stand up to the Grand Canyon? No! Can the sphinx stand up to the Tetons? No! Can a pyramid stand up to the Canyonlands? No! Can an old castle



EARTH FIRST!
Lughnasadh Edition
August 1, 1984
Vol. IV, No. VII

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Contributions are welcomed and should be typed or carefully printed, *double-spaced*, and sent with an SASE. All contributions should be sent to 230 West 7th Avenue, Chico, CA 95926, except for poetry which should go to Art Goodtimes, Box 1008, Telluride, CO 81435

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EARTH FIRST!
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POB 235, Ely, Nevada 89301 (702) 289-8636.

The *Earth First!* newspaper office is moving to Tucson, Arizona, in September. Until then, please direct all mail (orders, subscriptions, articles, letters to the editor, map orders, correspondence with Wildcat Annie, Dave Foreman or Nancy Morton) to:
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stand up to a day around Saguaro National Monument or even a free Saguaro in any part of the desert? No!

By using this stand, it would be a way to beat the politicians and officials at their own game. Maybe we should try a new track. We should do anything we can to save this beautiful land of ours.

– LeAnn Winge

Dear *EF!*

For too long I've allowed my academic aspirations and campus environ to intimidate me into passive, "professional" objectivity, while in disbelief I meekly observed EF!ers defy a political process I'd devoted 20 years of formal education trying to comprehend.

But a combination of many things, including a horrifying surge of anti-wilderness legislation currently before Congress, as well as a perfectly inspiring July 7th Round River Rendezvous has me reassessing the need for advocacy, of *all* sorts, in academic professionals. Piss on protocol! EF! you're a kick in the ass, make me a part of you! And please, mail my subscription to my workplace. Let's see if we can't rearrange the priorities of some of my concerned-but-inhibited colleagues.

Laura Jo West
Dept. of Political Science
Utah State University

Dear *Earth First!*

I have read for the first time your newspaper/magazine. I thoroughly enjoyed it, I agree with your philosophy, attitudes, sense of humor, etc. But there is one thing...

Drop the goddamn exclamation point after Earth First!. It looks amateurish and causes your newspaper to take on the appearance of a romance novel. I cringe when seeing EF!, Earth First!, or EARTH FIRST! cluttering up continuity.

If anyone else is interested in purging the earth of the exclamation point you may write me at the address below. I am current president of the Committee to Reduce or Eliminate the Exclamation Point (CREEP).

– Uncle Ho
P.O. Box 53371
Oklahoma City, OK 73152

(Ed. reply: But, but... Earth First! *is a romance novel!)*

Dear Dave:

Tell him no way, he can't! He shouldn't! He MUST NOT!! It took me a long time to get used to typing Earth First! with an exclamation point after it, and I won't stand for having it removed (I even added some to Uncle Ho's letter – I couldn't help myself!)!! Anyway, didn't this CREEP already get us into trouble once before?!!! Must my job be under constant fire?!!!! Is there no justice?!!!!! Is nothing safe from the onslaught of acronymic perversions?!!!!!! Enough of this nonsense!!!!!!!

I may have to resign!

– The Typesetter!

Dear *EF!*

This is a belated response to Chim Blea's "Cat Tracks" column, "What are We Fighting For?" in your December 22, 1983 issue. I know, letters to the editor should be written hot on the heels of the editorial stuff in question. I often fail to achieve this because my life doesn't afford me the luxury of reading everything on receipt. I read Chim Blea's column about two hours ago.

"Leave it as it is. You cannot improve on it. The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it."
—Theodore Roosevelt
1903

Jim Stiles ©1984

I sympathize with the feelings behind her piece, but I am deeply offended by seeing in it print – for the same reasons that I was deeply affected by "The Population Bomb" and nauseated by Ehrlich's (and William and Paul Paddock's) application of the military/medical concept of triage to nations.

If I begin with certain plausible assumptions, I can intellectually accept triage or Chim Blea's concept of the "humanpox." The assumptions I make seem to vary from day to day, but on a day when I don't feel too good, I may find myself reaching her identical conclusions – intellectually, that is. I have never been able to accept them emotionally for longer than a fleeting moment. Is this weakness, unwillingness to accept the evidence, or blindness on my part? Sometimes I think it is. Yet more often I am proud of this inability of mine.

Speaking as what I hope is a whole human being, I find that to accept triage or the humanpox is to allow the intellect to drive one's human/animal feelings into a corner; to leave the emotions with no outlet but surrender or a suicidal frontal attack. The mental process involved seems very much like the one "rational man" used to secure the ascendancy of "industrial man," who now threatens us with ecocide. The difference is that Chim Blea's mental processes have backed her into a different – and much less crowded – corner.

My own feelings tell me that, whether I as an individual am a "humanpox" organism, or whether I have "mutated into an antibody," I am part of *Homo sapiens*. As such, I have the capacity to be self-critical, not just as an individual, but as a member of my species. Many of my criticisms of *H. sapiens* would be the same as Chim Blea's. Yet I am also deeply attached to my flawed species. I'd sooner you didn't call that "human arrogance," but you can call it "species ego" if you like. (I never have been one of those pyscho-puritans who believe that the ego is a "dirty" part of myself.) Like every living member of other species, like every sperm or egg, like all the jillions of mitochondira, I am unconsciously motivated toward preservation, not just of my own self, but of my kind. In my case (and in the case of 99% of our particular species, I would assume) I also have a conscious motivation toward the preservation of *H. sapiens*. If that's a utopian vision, let it be so. Stuck as our bodies are with our human minds, I fail to see how anything less than utopian vision justifies our lives.

I regard it as highly likely that Chim Blea is correct that "the Golden Age is a fantasy." I don't even find her dreary vision of "humanpox" as a potentially terminal planetary disease an implausible one. (I wish I could.) But it is "human arrogance" on her part to regard that, and its future implications, as proven fact.

One of the more admirable characteristics of us Utopians (he said, shamelessly flashing his ego) is that we admit there aren't any accurate maps. For all I can prove, maybe I *am* inescapably "part of the problem." Maybe if I had all the facts I would be convinced that it is inconsistent to love my species *and* the rest of the biosphere. But neither I, nor Chim Blea, nor the totality of past, present and future humanity will ever be so fortunate as to be able to make decisions based on *all* the facts. And so I persist in my juggling act, buoyed up by my reasonable certainty of one thing: No good will come of self-hatred. It doesn't even *feel* good, like some otherwise destructive acts.

A lot of Earth First!ers will probably call me a wimp, but I am hooked enough on the idea of diversity to believe that, if we are to save the biosphere, there is a role for lots of different kinds of people. Dropouts and activists. People who are willing to lie down in front of a bulldozer and others who are willing to lobby a congressman with a mediocre voting record. I respect all of us who are trying to "do good." For that reason while, in a given instance, I may criticize a given tactic – for tactical reasons – I try to avoid saying that a certain kind of tactic is intrinsically a *bad* tactic. But, at least on the species level, and at least in her December 22 column, Chim Blea seems to have lapsed into self-hatred. And tactics which spring from self-hatred can only do harm.

– Bill McLarney
North Carolina

My sentiments exactly. It's refreshing to see human beings who are not afraid of the beast within, and who take pride in that beautiful creature – a creature with as much good potential as it has bad (if you think about that statement, that says a hell of a lot for us). It is the fear of said beast that will destroy us, for this is where "human arrogance" stems from. When we accept the creature, we do so with respect for nature and natural things.

I know, who asked for my opinion anyway, right?

– The Typesetter

Dear *EF!*

In Earth First! lies hope for a better world. One day the earth is going to turn around. Never doubt that the going will be *very* difficult.

Perhaps somewhere out there there are Earth First!ers who can help me. I'm within 100 days of finishing a novel which deals with the problems of population, industrialism, the spirit.

Some years ago Aldous Huxley said, "... how can anyone write a play, a poem or novel about the pressure of population on resources?" I hope that I'm solving that problem and some others, too.

Does anyone out there know the name of publishers or agents interested in ecology? I will be most grateful for any help, and I guarantee that Earth First! will benefit from any money I make.

– Louis Head
1115 W. Calhoun St.
Macomb, IL 61455
309-837-1916 (collect)

Dear *EF!*

I'm looking for photos showing environmental degradation and pollution to use in a new textbook on environmental pollution I'm authoring for Methuen. Glossy black and white prints (or negatives) are preferred but not essential. Thank you.

John A. Connors
Box C-119
Sul Ross State University
Alpine, TX 79832

Dear *EF!*

Have you ever been to the North Rim of the Grand Canyon? Probably so, it's a great place. But...

I've lived up here for the past six years and I've watched the Freddies do their thing with skill and abandon, but 1984 has heralded in a whole new ball game. The northern district of the Kaibab National Forest has a new district ranger who is like your worst nightmare. This guy is completely out of control and ready to make a name for himself. As you know all too well, that kind of attitude can end up ruining yourself – but not before irreparable damage has been done to the environment. Anyway, this guy needs to have a fire lit under his butt *real quick!* You folks sound like just the people to bring the matches.

Here's some fuel. Locust & Timp timber sales are proposed sales for the west rim points of the forest and will involve the cutting of three hundred year old yellow pines on the points, even though any person with half a brain knows these points will only regenerate locust due to the drier and warmer climate of our present age. The points involved are: Stina, Timp, North Timp, Locust, Fence, & Parissawampitts.

If you break out your Grand Canyon Topo you will see just how important this potential destruction could be; after all, we're talking about every goddamn point on the west rim. And I'll tell you right now: the Freddie's EAR maps are very deceptive, the no-cut areas are canyons that are too steep to log. But the fun doesn't stop on the West side. On the East side there is a sale being surveyed right now, called the Murray Timber sale, which will involve the building of almost 15 miles of new roads out to the mile-long finger ridges which jut out over House Rock Valley. This is virgin timber country, on points which will never grow big yellows ever again. And once again the EARs show lots of no-cut areas, but they're all in canyons.

–Canyon Lizard

Dear *Earth First!*

Ever hear of a group known as The Wildlife Legislative Fund of America (WLFA) or The Wildlife Conservation Fund of America (WCFA)? Good sounding names, right? Well, all they are is good sounding because this group or organization is pro-trapping and pro-anything else that will aid in the "control" of wildlife. They would like you to think that they want to protect wildlife, such as waterfowl.

This WLFA WCFA states on their flier "People who know us like us." Why? Because they tell the sportsmen that they are the sportsman's friend and that those who wish to see wildlife and any animal protected are not the friend of sportsmen.

I am enclosing the literature on this organization, including the part where they state that "coyotes, bobcats, foxes, weasels and mink kill any wildlife they can catch." You notice that there is no mention of the part that domestic cats and dogs play in the killing of wildlife. Let's all try to do our part to see that the general public becomes aware that we are just as determined to help protect the earth as these others are set to rape it.

Keep fighting and never sell out.

– Mel Winge
Shelton, Washington

MIDDLE SANTIAM STRUGGLE CONTINUES

by Mike Roselle

Pyramid Creek, Oregon, July 25 – There have been 37 arrests by Linn County's Sheriff's deputies since we began our campaign of non-violent interference to stop logging in the Middle Santiam. In the beginning, on May 5, six people were arrested for occupying a blasting site loaded with dynamite. They were charged with disorderly conduct and released. On June 4, 15 more people were arrested blocking a bridge over Pyramid Creek, taken to jail and charged with disorderly conduct. All except one were released without bail. Sarah Barton remained in the Linn County jail on a fast for eight days to protest the logging. She was charged with a misdemeanor and finally released without bail.

The July 17 blockade of a bridge across Pyramid Creek saw the first eruption of unprovoked police violence (see lead article). Protestors were dragged by the beard, hair and had their arms twisted. Seven were arrested and two of them were released.

On July 18, the five protestors who remained in jail were taken into District Court to be arraigned but were taken back to their cells and charged with contempt of court after refusing to give their names to the judge. They have refused food since they were arrested and have also refused to cooperate with the court until all charges against them are dropped. They have been in custody for over a week at the time of this writing.

Another blockade was held on the Pyramid Creek bridge on July 23. Five were arrested for blocking traffic and charged with disorderly conduct. But, in a surprising and underhanded twist, three other people were arrested on felony charges of refusing to help deputies load the arrested demonstrators into the patrol car. One of those arrested on felony charges, Paul McAdams, was a reporter for *The Alliance*, a Portland newspaper, who cited an injured back for not toting blockaders to the paddy wagon. He and the others singled out were taken away even though there were Forest Service and Willamette Industries employees present who could have been called upon to assist the deputies. It was later revealed that this sleazy scheme was planned in advance by the district attorney and sheriff's department.

Police brutality, trumped-up felony charges, harassment of the media and clumsy attempts to arrest those considered to be "leaders" are just a few of the Nazi-style tactics being used by Linn County Sheriff's deputies and the US Forest Service to break the spirit of this campaign. But to no avail! Never has our commitment been stronger to see this struggle through to a successful conclusion. We will not be intimidated nor will we rest in our efforts to save the great forests of the Pacific Northwest.

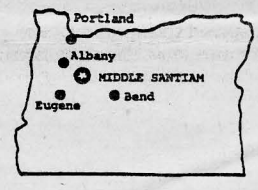
But we can't do it alone. Help is needed. Legal costs and day-to-day expenses have thrown this campaign into debt. For a fraction of the cost of a Sierra Club lobbyist we can keep this struggle alive until the end of the logging season, and send a message to the US Forest Service that we have had enough of their destructive, land-raping program of annihilation. It's time for a change. NO PASSARAN!

Oregon Earth First! and the Cathedral Forest Action Group have a new office location (different from that announced in the June *EF!*). It is 824 SW 10th St., Corvallis, OR 97333 (503) 754-9151 or 753-5725. They need your help – on the front lines, as a support person, to do various office chores, in any way you can help. Contact Cecelia Ostrow, Mike Roselle or any of the others there.

Earth First! blocks the Middle Santiam logging road July 17.

HELP!

The battle to safeguard the remaining Old Growth Douglas fir of Oregon continues with Oregon Earth First! and the Cathedral Forest Action Group holding the front lines. As reports in this issue of *EF!* indicate, the Forest Service and law enforcement agencies hope their heavy-handed tactics will break the non-violent resistance to the destruction of the Middle Santiam. But stiff legal penalties and rough treatment from the cops will not break the resolve of the dedicated defenders of the big trees. They are holding strong – fighting for the natural diversity of the old growth forest, for the wolverine, for the spotted owl – and for *you*. Won't you help them? Most of the money for the Middle Santiam blockade has come from the pockets of the blockaders themselves. They're over $1000 in debt for legal expenses. Send them what you can: five, ten, twenty, a hundred bucks or more. Do it today. Next year will be too late for the Middle Santiam. Send cash or checks made out to "Oregon Earth First!" to Oregon Earth First!, POB 3953, Eugene, OR 97403. Thank you. And ... thanks very much to the good folks who have already sent in money in response to the appeal in the June *Earth First!*.



NORTH AMERICAN BIOREGIONAL CONGRESS

by Ronnie Hawkins

At a church camp outside Kansas City this May, 200 people from around the continent and the globe came together to particpate in the first North American Bioregional Congress. A very diverse group of individuals that would be difficult to characterize, they shared the common ground of an appreciation for North America, Turtle Island of Indian legend, and a desire for its appropriate and sustainable inhabitation now and in the future.

The Congress opened with a circle of all participants arranged in geographical sequence, sharing their name, place, and "passion" in life, a lengthy but powerful and involving experience that set the tone of the Congress. The real work began when we broke down into committees, which included Agriculture, Forests, Water, Economics, Community empowerment, Bioregionalism, Green politics, Education, Arts/culture, Native Indian and land-based peoples, and Ecofeminism; commiteework continued throughout the rest of the Congress (and beyond), with periodic progress reports to the plenary body and presentation of resolutions for adoption on the final day. A variety of speakers were invited to address the group, including Native American elders Roberta Blackgoat and Mae Shay (in translation), who spoke on the forced relocation under way of nearly 15,000 Dineh from the sacred Big Mountain and the surrounding Black Mesa area to facilitate a massive coal stripmining operation; Robert Mazibuko of the Africa Tree Center, whose efforts in South Africa are encouraging tree planting and appropriate agriculture; and Sonia Johnson, Presidential candidate of the Citizens Party.

Decision-making was by consensus, and after some discussion a male/female alteration was adopted for open microphone sessions. Work was divided up by volunteers under the guidance of key staff persons, and ecological awareness was brought into daily function with the encouraged use of composting toilets and wholesome, organic vegetarian fare, usually with a vegan option. Time between committee sessions was given to workshops, covering topics from computers to permaculture to T-shirt silkscreening, and entertainment featured the Turtle Island song and slide show, evening and morning concerts with Paul Winter on saxophone and John Stokes on didjeridu, and the Planet Drum Foundation's "Not For Tourists" experience, climaxing with Bob Carroll's impressions of a salmon making its way to the spawning grounds. A bioregional quilt with squares representing the different regions was assembled, and the Congress' own publication, *The Voice of the Turtle*, recorded daily happenings. Eric Utne of *The Utne Reader* and a freelancer for NPR were in attendance, giving the event wider media coverage as well.

A small Earth First! contingent was present at the Congress but there seemed to be a broad understanding of and sympathy for the spirit of Earth First! among those who were not directly so identified. A Deep Ecology workshop was organized by Michael Crowfoot which drew a fair crowd and raised certain issues that remained topics of discussion throughout the Congress. The Principles of Deep Ecology as laid out by George Sessions and Arne Naess formed the starting point of the discussion, with their point #4, calling for "a substantial decrease in the human population" drawing the most controversy, many people apparently not wanting to face the seriousness of the overpopulation issue or shying away from it on the mistaken belief that coercive means must be employed to deal with it.

Many of us were disappointed when we learned Mike Roselle would not be attending the Congress as planned, but an Ecodefense group formed despite his absence and drew up a statement promoting nonviolent direct action in defense of the planet's threatened ecosystems, with Bobcat presenting it to the larger group and, with some discussion, getting its endorsement. As part of the Planet Drum show, Nancy Morita presented her Wild in the City program, an endeavor to bring back populations of San Francisco's original native species – brown pelicans, sea lions, peregrine falcons – or at least their ghosts, painting hoofprints of Tule elk on downtown sidewalks.

Chris Wells made several showings of his All Species Day videotape, a germinal concept for involving local communities, children in particular, in a day of celebration of the diverse forms of life that seems to be catching on in many cities around the continent. Widespread concern was evidenced with respect to the plight of the planet's rainforests, and three different individuals insisted that the Forests resolutions address the tropical rainforest situation.

As one who has been generally used to attending conferences in a confrontational role, NABC I provided a refreshing relief if not the adrenalin rush; it was nice to spend a week with a large group of others who by and large shared my attitudes toward life, if not my militancy. All types of people who are going to be needed if we are to put together a society that will be a viable option to what we have now, and there will be many different roles to play in the work ahead, all important. NABC I was a step in that direction. Local and macroregional gatherings and activities will be held within the coming year, and NABC II is being planned for 1986.

Ronnie Hawkins, a physician, is active in the bioregional and animal rights movements as well as in Earth First!. She is a regular contributor to Earth First! *and other publications. She lives near Gainesville, Florida.*

MOVING? SEND US YOUR NEW ADDRESS!

ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS

One hundred and fifty Earth First!ers gathered in Montana's Cabinet Mountains for the fifth annual Round River Rendezvous, July 5-9. For three days, in an area carpeted with wildflowers, surrounded by aspens, firs, and the Cabinet Mountain Wilderness, EF!-ers from far outposts such as North Carolina, Missouri, Texas, New Mexico, Idaho, Oregon, California, Wyoming, and Montana got to know each other and some of the wild land (bear and mountain goat were spotted) nearby, as well as the hamlet of Heron (where posters were spotted depicting a hippie with a grizzly bear on a leash beside a road sign with arrows: "to New York, to Puerto Rico, to California ..."). The "hippies" rumored to be attending the RRR, were rumored to number three hundred, and rumored to be depositing human wastes in the creek. A county health official appeared at the site on Friday asking after these degenerates. We told him we hadn't seen any, but if we did we'd let him know. Most of the locals were friendly and hospitable. The "hard-hat" rally, held to counter EF!'s Defend the Grizzly Rally, had zero attendance, except for two passersby drinking beer at the Blue Hat saloon.

Saturday's Defend the Grizzly Rally mustered to the clarion call of Paul Richard's horn. The Rally proved a grand success thanks to the mixture of Montana savoir-faire, dignity, and down-home humor of Master of Ceremonies, Gary Steele, who inspired the speakers and performers and kept the rally going in spite of (or because of) the fact that there was no electronic sound system and the stage was a mule trailer.

The Wilderness melodies of Keith Hammer opened the show. Then our fine host, Cesar Hernandez, welcomed us and discussed the battle he and others have been waging for years against a silver mine (touted as the nation's largest) in the grizzly's Cabinet Mountains Wilderness. Lance Olsen, of the Great Bear foundation, followed, helping the audience get better acquainted with grizzly lore and the habit and nature of the beast. Ric Meis of Bozeman then spoke to the crowd about the disasterous anti-wilderness bill proposed by the Montana Congressional delegation.

Long-time champion of wilderness Mike Comola (former president of the Montana Wilderness Association and a mining executive) next took the stage with an enlightening account of the status of Montana's unprotected wilderness. While he recognized EF! as the only environmental group in existence, he admonished the radicals for accepting a compromise six million acres of wild land to be protected, when in fact there were 7.5 million qualifying and deserving acres. That raised the hackles of no-compromise EF!ers.

Cecelia Ostrow returned with some of her songs and discussed Oregon EF!'s struggle for the Middle Santiam.

Marcy Willow took the stage after Cecelia with an oration about the motivation, decision-making, and endurance of the individual faced with the destruction of the wilderness. She told the Rendezvous that those who choose to fight for the Grizzly and Cabinet Mountain Wilderness can't lose because they are right.

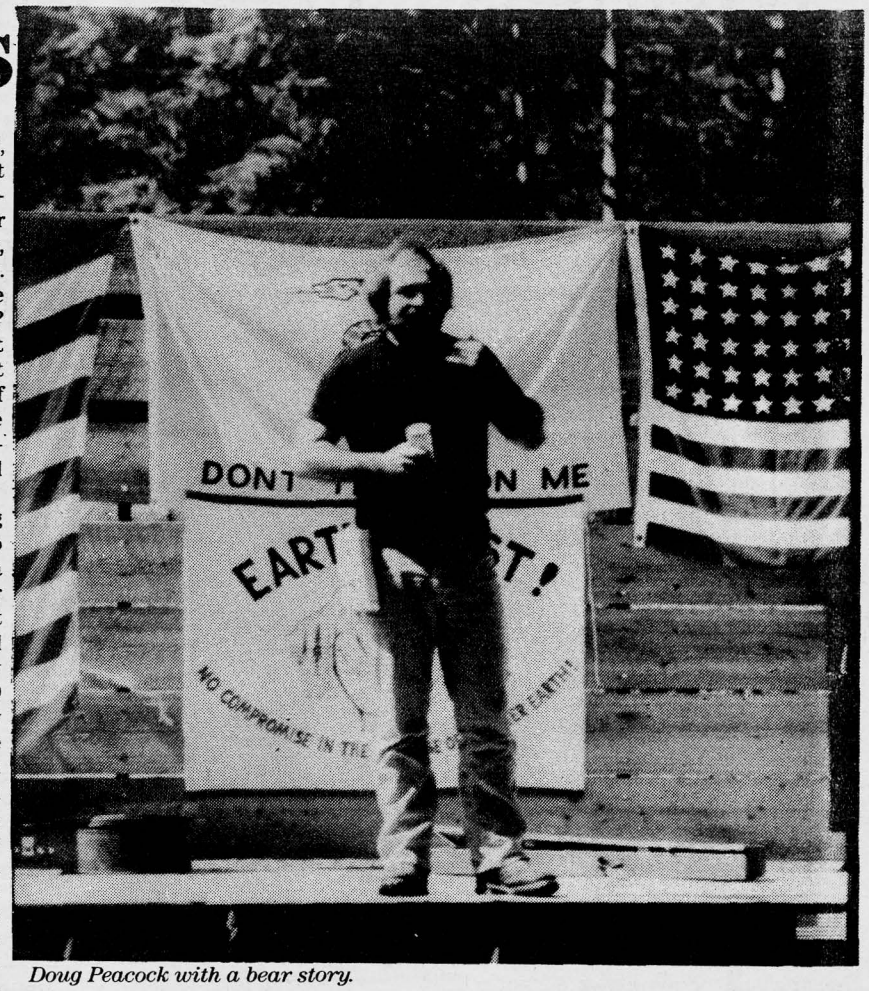
The Blockaders, six Oregon veterans of the Kalmiopsis campaign and the Middle Santiam, made an appearance and belted out – with the help of the crowd – some rousing Australian EF! battle hymns, such as "Take Your Bulldozers" and "Tonka Toys."

It wasn't the biggest group of Rendezvousers, but it was the most dignified, the most impassioned, and the most determined. The sun was hot, occasionally a sheriff's rig would steal along the road behind the stage, but the no-compromise folks were there to save the grizzly, defend the wilderness, and by late afternoon their attention was on a bear-like man who paced on the stage. It was Doug Peacock with some words about the bear world, and what we need to do to protect grizzlies. He responded to a question about hunting the great bear by saying it was not appropriate, there just aren't enough of them. What must we do to revive the grizzly population in the lower 48? A few simple things: 1) protect habitat, 2) understand and accept in a way the constrained notions of conventional science never can the grizzly bear in its natural environment, 3) people must understand that this is the *bear's* country.

The finale was a captivating speech by Dave Foreman, who asked the audience to imagine a great grandfather's tale of passenger pigeons darkening the skies, vast herds of bison, a pristine primeval land experienced firsthand only several generations ago. Even 150 years ago large areas of the country remained as they were during the Pleistocene. We can still remember. We are part of the nobility that can appreciate the grandeur of the wild, can fight for its survival; a nobility that is courageous and effective. The noble men and women who defend the wilderness can choose how they live and choose how they die, choose what they will be remembered for and choose their *raison d'etre.* You can die of old age or be run down by a bulldozer while protecting the wilderness. The highest ideal is to live for what you believe in.

After the rally two meetings were held. The first was a strategy session for Montana activists; the second a discussion of what EF! is and plans for "organizing" a Montana Earth First!.

Darkness Saturday night found folks around a great bonfire, relaxing, thinking, and talking. The tete a tetes went far into the night. By mid-morning the next day the word was: "There's going to be an action." In the shade of the mule trailer a group met to iron-out logistics. Shortly thereafter, in Doug Norlen's mini-lumbago (the Oregon Slug) an EF! delegation went a-calling on Montana's legislative delegation.

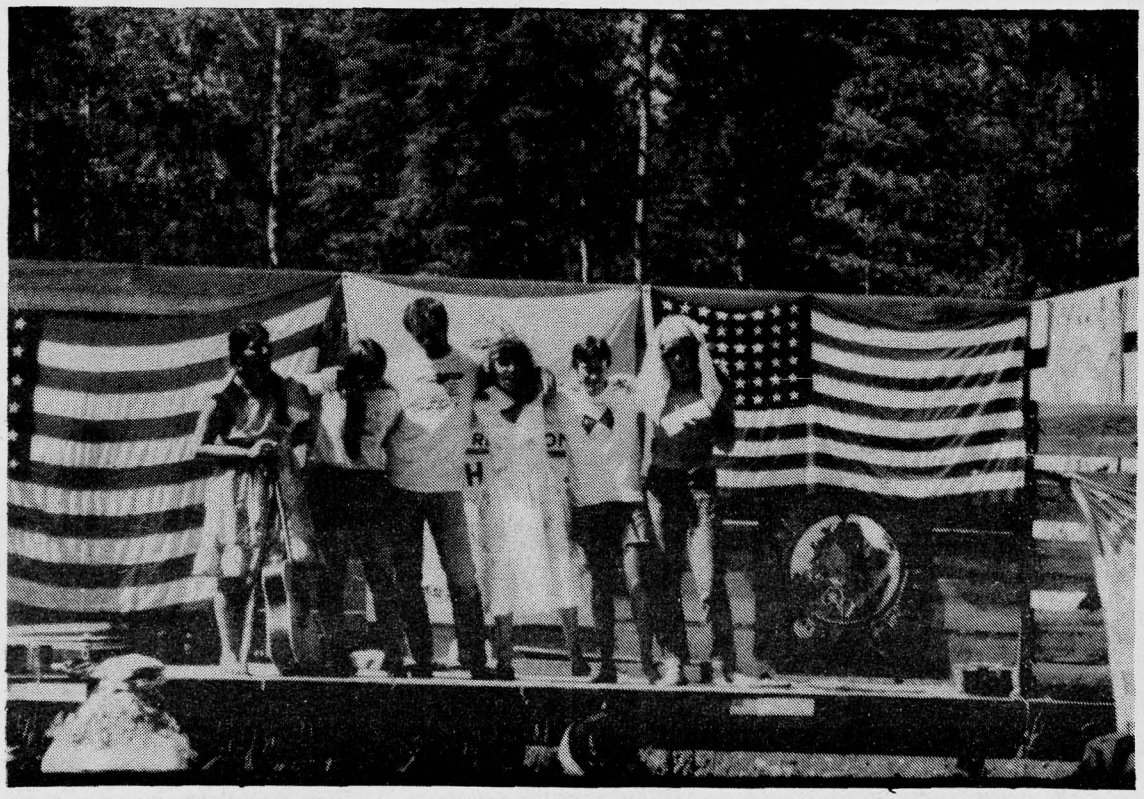


Doug Peacock with a bear story.

ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS 1985

The Round River Rendezvous is the primary tribal gathering of Earth First! for the year. How can we convince *you* that you should come and be a part of it? Should we continue to hold it on a weekend near the 4th of July or are there too many conflicts with that date? Should we try to hold it in a more central location? Should the date and place be announced far in advance to help you plan to attend? Should we promote it better? Should we continue to combine the Rendezvous with a rally against a particular wilderness-destruction project? What else should we do at the Rendezvous? Would you like workshops, meetings, etc., on specific topics and skills? How long should the Rendezvous last? Is it possible to organize car pools from different sections of the country to attend? Finally, is it even important to try to bring Earth Firstlers from California and Idaho, Maine and Florida, Ohio and Colorado together to meet one another, exchange ideas, information and enthusiasm?

Marcy Willow is convening a small committee to analyze the concept of the Round River Rendezvous and to begin planning for the 1985 Rendezvous. If you would like to work on the committee, contact Marcy. If you have comments on the above questions or other suggestions on how to make the Rendezvous better, send them to Marcy Willow, Oregon Earth First!, POB 3953, Eugene, OR 97403.



The Oregon Blockaders sing "Take Your Bulldozers Away..." Photos by David Peterson.

Lance Olsen with another *bear story.*

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS THE AMERICAN (MONTANAN) WAY

by Mike Bond

What leads a normal, reasonably intelligent American to commit acts of civil disobedience? What leads her or him to step outside the law? It is perhaps a love of the country whose laws are no longer applicable to the situation at hand, laws used not to embellish freedoms but to undercut them?

Such was certainly the case with Earth First!'s first major civil disobedience action in Montana, which took place from July 10 to 12, in the Federal Office Building in Missoula. We occupied the offices of U.S. Senator John Melcher for a very specific reason, and with a concrete goal in mind. Melcher and the rest of the Montana Congressional Delegation had several days earlier released to the logging industry copies of a Senate Bill, S. 2850, entitled the "Montana Wilderness Act of 1984," which, if enacted, would strip Montana of six *million* acres of undesignated wilderness (primarily RARE II and BLM areas) in return for designation of 747 *thousand* acres of designated Wilderness.

This Bill, introduced by Senators Baucus and Melcher and approved by Congressmen Marlenee and Williams, would lead directly to the logging and or mining of 85% of Montanta's undesignated wilderness areas. Of the 7.5 *million* acres of such wilderness lands now remaining in Montana, this Bill would retain wilderness protection for only 10%! Under the Bill, over six *million* acres of Montana's finest elk, deer, moose, wild sheep, and mountain goat habitats, and many of Montana's clearest and most productive trout streams, would be permanently condemened to U.S. Forest Service clearcutting, roadbuilding, erosion, water pollution, and scenic destruction.

This Bill would additionally reduce the size of the existing Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness, and would open nearly all of the late Senator Lee Metcalf's Montana Wilderness Study Areas to logging. It would invalidate the proposed Bitter Creek Wilderness near Glasgow, and could provide a means for the U.S. Forest Service to evade existing regulations by preparing slipshod road construction impact analyses on five *million* acres of publicly owned land.

Doug Norlen and Mike Bond officially open Earth First!'s office in Missoula. Photo by Peggy Lucas Bond.

Because much logging on public lands in Montana is U.S. Forest Service subsidy logging – so-called deficit sales where the cost of contracting the timber sale and building the roads is greater than the value received by the government for the timber – this Bill would place an additional burden on the already overindebted U.S. Treasury. Within the state, the Bill's economic impacts would be fierce: it would substantially damage Montana's multi-million dollar recreation industry, particularly its hunting, trout fishing, hiking, and camping resources. Moreover, it would hurt those within the state who can least afford it: the poor, who depend on an elk every hunting season to get their families through the winter.

Furthermore, the Bill is an affront to all the Montana outdoor groups who have worked for years with the Delegation to achieve some consensus between the unbelievable greed of the logging industry and the needs of Montana's citizens. Every poll in recent years has shown that Montanans are perhaps the nation's most wilderness-conscious citizens; well over half the residents of the state want substantially more designated wilderness than we presently have. During public meetings last year on wilderness issues, meetings which were heavily attended by loggers, over 65% of those present called for four times the wilderness contained in this Bill! At least 50% of the state wants no logging in any RARE II, Montana Wilderness Study Area, or other undesignated wilderness area!

Why, then, did the Montana Congressional Delegation write such a Bill? The question is complex, and surely no one but they could supply all the answers. We do know that the four members of the Delegation have received between fifty and one hundred thousand dollars in contributions from the logging industry. Three of the four face reelection this fall, and elections, even in Montana, are very expensive, ranging up to a million dollars for a Senatorial campaign. Thus, once again, the so-called democratic process is reduced to a squabbling for contributions and a willingness to sacrifice nearly anything in return for the money to buy advertising and thus votes.

Today, other equally reprehensible "Wilderness Logging Bills" have surfaced in Idaho and Wyoming. Oregon has already fallen prey to legislation that will destroy forever the majority of its remaining wilderness. Shall we, as free and responsible Americans, allow this to continue?

As with so many similar issues in the United States today, the majority finds itself without a voice. Every poll in recent years has shown that the vast majority of Americans favor a nuclear freeze and a builddown of nuclear weapons, yet the Reagan administration insanely continues to prepare for and urge us closer to the last great war. Every poll in recent years shows nationwide support for protection of *all* existing wilderness, yet the U.S. Forest Service and the majority of politicians continue to cut up and destroy the wilderness as fast as the bulldozers and the bills can move. No appreciable support exists in this country for Reagan's continuing attempts to destroy the government of Nicaragua, or to uphold by violence the death squad juntas of El Salvador and Guatemala, yet the CIA and the Pentagon continue to spend their millions every month in Central America. We can vote in another set of villains, but they, like the first, will be indebted to the Political Action Committees, the millions of corporate donations, that put them there. The majority of Americans will continue to have little voice in public affairs.

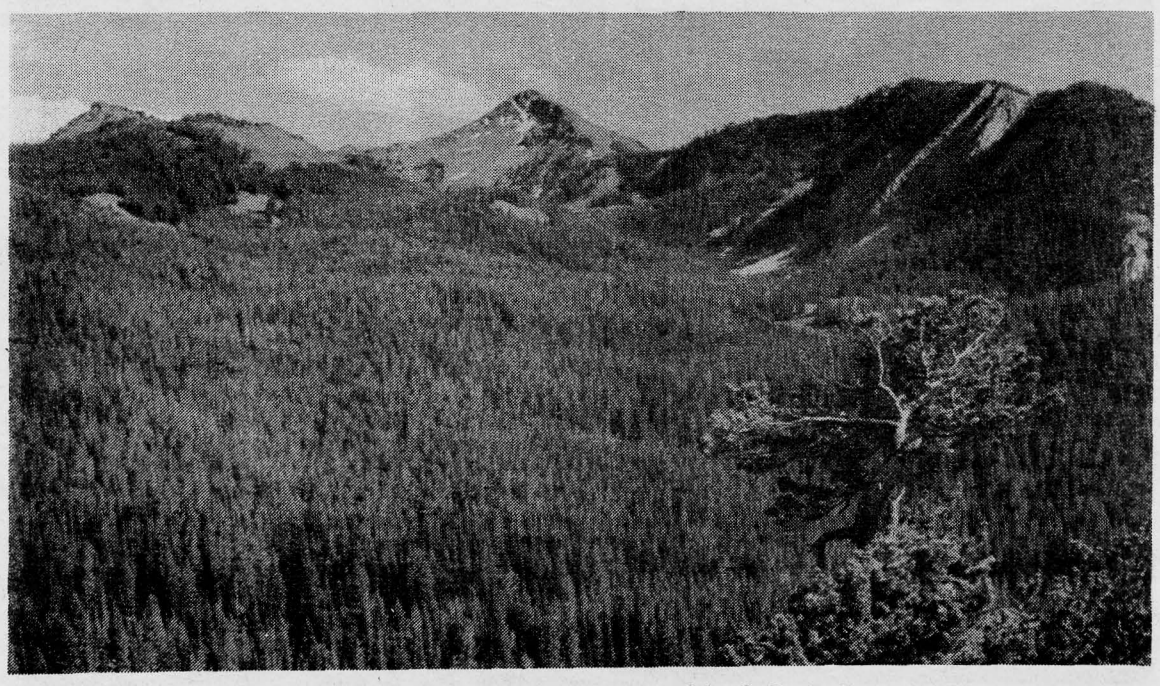
So what do we do? We step outside the law. We take the law back into our own hands. We remind our politicians and our fellow citizens, by our civil disobedience, how wrong the political system in this country has become. We challenge them to arrest us, thereby revealing to the world the vacuum between the will of the American people and the acts of the U.S. government. Each of us, in doing so, risks a lot. I have given up a promising political career, but what is the purpose in politics when politics does not heed the law? Each of us risks arrest, but is it better to stay out of jail when there is no justice in freedom?

Therefore I urge all Earth First! members, and any other American who cares about our outdoors resources, about justice in Central America, or about the future of the earth and all life upon it, to take action, to step outside the law, to take the law back into the hands of the citizens, whose fundamental right it is to do so, and whose fundamental protector it again can be.

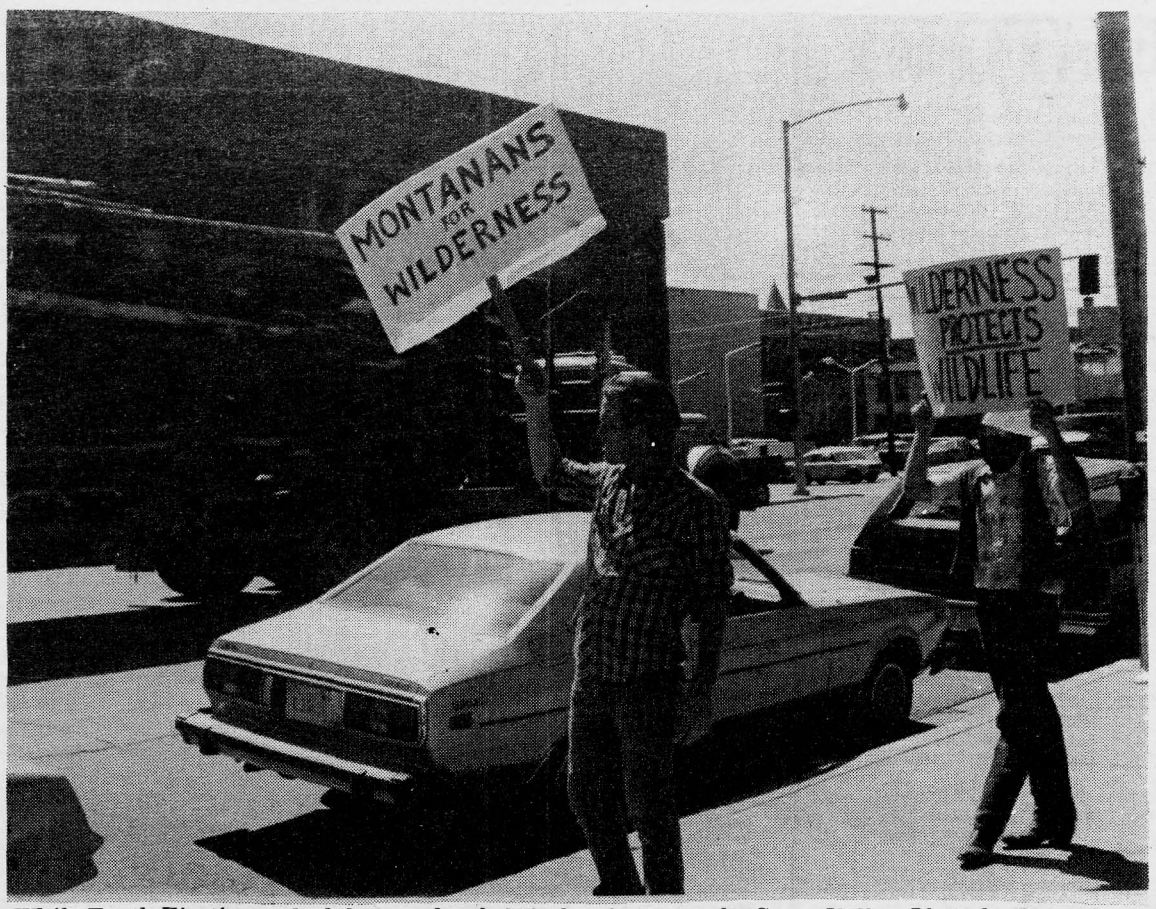
On Thursday, July 12, on the third day of the occupation of his office, Senator Melcher stated on television that he would have no problem with public hearings on this Bill. At the same time, Senator Baucus noted that many changes could be made, and Congressman Williams said that the Bill might already be dead. Our first goal, public hearings, had been achieved. Earth First!, through civil disobedience, had won the battle. If we stick to our guns, and if we step beyond the law when justice dictates that we do so, we will also win the war.

Mike Bond lives in Bozeman, Montana, and is the Earth First! contact there. He ran against John Melcher in the Democratic primary for US Senate in 1982.

Earth First! and the NRA. Chris Owen photo.



Under the proposed Montana Wilderness Bill, this section of the Gallatin Range will be released from RARE II protection. There are plans to log it next spring. Photo by Michael Bond.



While Earth First! marched, loggers hauled timber from nearby Swan Valley. Photo by Peggy Lucas Bond.

MONTANA (cont)

crowded conditions. Two other EF! members visited the offices of Senator Max Baucus and Representative Pat Williams to advise their staffs of the occupation and to warn that unless the demands of Earth First! were met, their offices would be next. They were shocked and somewhat distressed.

As the closing hour of 5 p.m. approached, Howie McDowell asked EF! members, "Well, what are you going to do?"

"We are waiting for the Senator."

The press had returned for the standoff. Meanwhile, support marchers watched outside for the police. A patrol car pulled up, an officer got out. Calmly he posted a letter and drove off.

It was 6 p.m. and the TV crew had to leave. The *Missoulian* reporter and photographer vowed to stay until some decision was reached.

Then GSA staff removed several files and the Senator's phone. The office belonged to Earth First!. A sign went up, "Earth First! Missoula Office." Ten members of Earth First! settled in for their first night's stay, a little surprised that they had not been arrested.

By Wednesday morning support was growing for the EF! protest. The story was carried by the local press as well as the AP wire service. Reporters from *Newsweek*, Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* and *The Denver Post* interviewed the EF! team. Support marchers made new signs saying "Honk for Wilderness" and the noise level at 200 E. Broadway, Missoula, rose substantially. Occasionally a logging truck driver even honked!

In Helena the Montana Wildlands Coalition held a press conference to voice outrage over the wilderness bill. (The Wildlands Coalition was formed to represent outdoors groups at the planning sessions for the wilderness bill.) Obviously, Senator Melcher and the rest of the Montana Congressional Delegation were now aware that Montanans wanted a better wilderness bill protecting more acreage.

After a second night in the new EF! office, the EF! team, strengthened by additional members from Helena, was ready for Senator Melcher. He arrived at about 9:30 a.m. Thursday after a breakfast meeting with Wildlands Coalition leaders at the home of former Montana Wilderness Association President Arnie Bolle. Noticeably distressed, Senator Melcher demanded that EF! member Gary Steele relinquish the Senator's chair. Steele refused and the Senator tried to drag him from the chair. "Get the press!" someone called, and the Senator backed down.

For an hour with radio, television, and newspaper present, John Melcher went head on with EF! members. The Democratic Senator tried to represent his position, the wilderness bill, as suitable for handicapped people, recreational campers, dirt bikers, snowmobilers, and "Just Folks" (a Reaganism if there ever was one). However, he was harshly criticized for his consistently pro-timber record in Congress, his authorship of legislation allowing road building and logging in existing Wilderness Areas, his refusal to honor the compromise that he had requested and received from the Montana Wildlands Coalition, and his utter disregard for the wishes of the vast majority of his constituency who hunt, fish, hike, camp, ride horseback, or simply look at the undisturbed forests. When asked to explain specifics about the proposed bill, the Senator could not.

Just before 10:30 a.m., Senator John Melcher, on television camera, agreed that he would not oppose public hearings on the wilderness bill.

Victoriously, EF! members withdrew from the office and held a rally on the steps of the Federal Office Building.

If this were really a fairytale, it would end with everyone going home to live happily ever after with 7.5 million acres of Wilderness in Montana. However, Senator Max Baucus and Representative Pat Williams had been remarkably silent on the issue, so 30 EF! members marched from the steps of Senator Melcher's office to their offices to remind them that they are also responsible to their electorate, and that one of them would be next.

(As a footnote, I should add that the Montana delegation does have four members even though I have only mentioned three. The fourth is Representative Ron Marlene, a Republican, who is so poor environmentally that EF! considers him a lost cause. However, there is even hope for Rep. Marlene. He is up for reelection this fall, and his Democrat opponent, Chet Blaylock, is strong.)

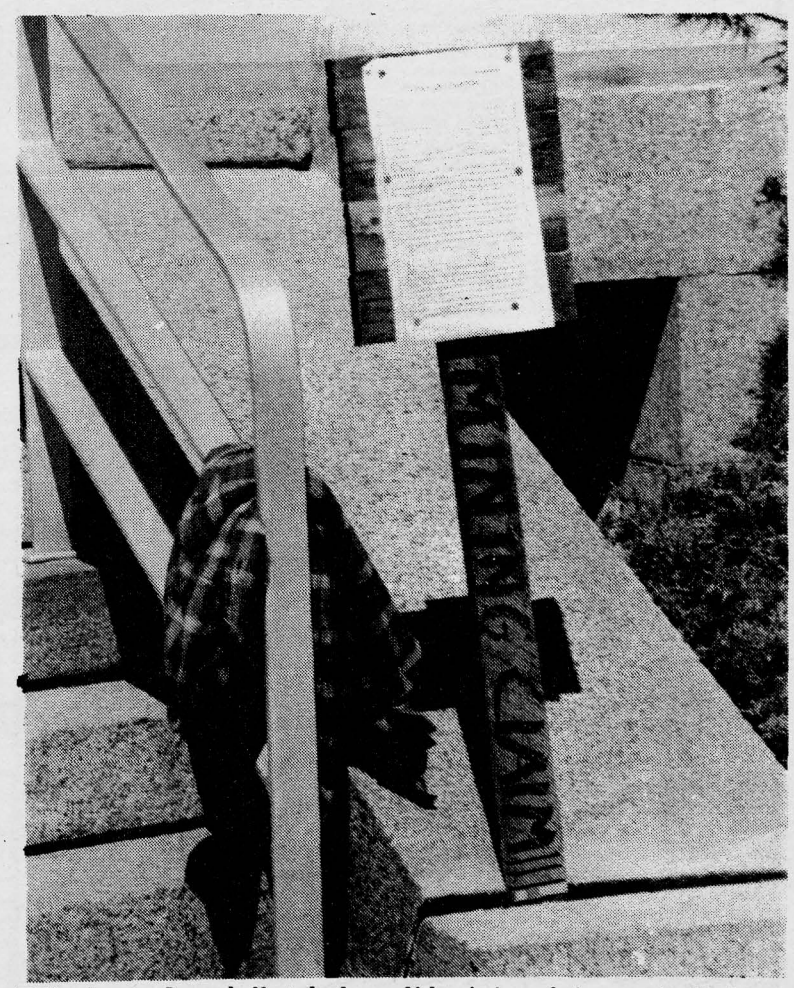
Peggy Bond is a freelance writer and photographer living in Bozeman, Montana. She contributes to the New York Times among other publications..

EARTH FIRST!
No Compromise in the Defense of Mother Earth!

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY SUPPORTS LOGGING AND MINING IN MONTANA ROADLESS AREAS??!

We don't believe it, either, but Montana newspapers must have misquoted Wilderness Society lobbyist Peter J. Coppelman (from their Washington, DC, office). In reference to news reports about the Earth First! occupation of Montana Senator John Melcher's office to protest the disastrous Montana "Wilderness" Bill, Coppelman was quoted as stating the Earth First! proposal to protect all six million acres of roadless national forest lands was too much and that some roadless areas should be logged and mined. If you're curious about whether the organization of Aldo Leopold and Bob Marshall is now supporting the destruction of defacto wilderness (surely not!), you can write The Wilderness Society, 1901 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington, DC 20009, and ask Mr. Coppelman.

Choices for Montana's wilderness are clear cut. This unvegetated 10-year-old clearcut in the Gallatin Range shows the hazard of logging sensitive, high-altitude soils. Photo by Peggy Lucas Bond.



EF!er Larry Campbell staked a valid mining claim on the Federal Building. Photo by Peggy Lucas Bond.

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Baltimore, MD 21209
(301) 367-8855

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Springfield, MO 65804
(417) 882-2947

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Billings, MT 59102
(406) 256-0965

Bozeman – Mike Bond
16320 Cottonwood
Bozeman, MT 59715
(406) 763-4507

Missoula – Barb Steele
Rt 1 Box 44K
St. Ignatius, MT 59865
(406) 745-3212

OR
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OR
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Joseph, OR 97846

Eugene – Marcy Willow
Oregon Earth First!
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Eugene, OR 97403
(503) 686-4356 345-2392

Grants Pass – Steve Marsden
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Williams, OR 97544
(503) 474-0259

Portland – Melinda Lee
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Sherwood, OR 97140
(503) 628-2814

PENNSYLVANIA
Lewisburg – David Hafer
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Lewisburg, PA 17837
(717) 523-3107

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Gordon M. Burghardt
Department of Psychology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996
(615) 974-3300

TEXAS
Dallas/Ft. Worth – Don McDowell
2640 Patricia Ln #201
Garland, TX 75041

UTAH
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Box 348
Escalante, UT 84726

Moab – Bob Phllips
POB 381
Moab, UT 84532
(801) 259-8353

Salt Lake City – Spurs Jackson
POB 26221
Salt Lake City, UT 84126
(801) 355-2154

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Burlington Environmental Alliance
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South Burlington, VT 05401

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Millboro, VA 24460

OR
Robert Mueller
Rt. 1 Box 250
Staunton, VA 24401
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Eagle-Eco-Runners EF!
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Stevens Pt, WI 54481
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OR Cindy Minnick
(715) 344-7253

Madison – Bob Kaspar
305 North Sixth Street
Madison, WI 53704
(608) 241-9426

Pembine – Coldfoot Creek
Route 1
Pembine, WI 54156
(715) 324-6422

Southeast – Meri Kuehn
113 Washington St.
Iron Ridge, WI 53035
(414) 625-3816

WYOMING
Jackson – Hiroshima Svendsen
Box 2166
Jackson, WY 83001
(307) 733-4793

Laramie – Harry Longbaugh
c/o Ric Hoogestradt
Box 4006 University Station
Laramie, WY 82071
(307) 766-3097

GRASSROOTS EARTH FIRST! – AN ATTEMPTED EXPLANATION

The grassroots structure of Earth First! is partly that of a movement and partly that of a specific organization. It ranges from active, functioning Earth First! groups covering an entire state or region (such as New Mexico EF!, Florida EF!, San Francisco Bay Area EF! or Missoula EF!) to more or less affiliated groups (such as the Southern Utah Wilderness Association, Western Colorado State College Whitewater Club or Appalachian Survival). Some of these groups put out their own newsletters or regular mailings, some have meetings, all do things. There are also a number of areas where there is not an actual EF! group but where there is a local contact for EF!. There are others that fall somewhere in between. If you want to become locally active with Earth First!, contact the person listed for your area (this listing makes no effort at division of actual groups and contacts). If no one is listed for your area, and you would like to be a local contact or have a local EF! group listed, please send your name, address and phone number to Earth First!, 230 W 7th Ave., Chico, CA 95926.

LOCAL GROUP COORDINATION

Although Earth First! is more of a movement than a formal organization and all Earth First! local, state or regional groups are independent, there is still a need for some central coordination and communication. Marcy Willow, Associate Editor of *Earth First!*, is offering to serve that clearing-house function. She will be in charge of updating the Earth First! Directory page and all address changes and new contacts should be sent to Marcy. She will send out periodic memos to local contacts with suggestions for organizing and action. Reports for publication in *Earth First!* on activities of local EF! groups should also be sent to Marcy instead of directly to the newspaper. Contact Marcy at: Oregon Earth First! POB 3953, Eugene, OR 97403 (503) 343-2048. Requests for additional copies of *Earth First!* to distribute or for wholesale orders of EF! T-shirts, hats, bumperstickers, etc., for local EF! groups to sell should still be sent to Nancy Morton c/o the *Earth First!* newspaper.

FOREST SUPERVISOR CONTEST

Whenever and wherever Earth First!ers or other wilderness fanatics gather – around a campfire, over a beer, between formal sessions at a conference – the talk invariably gets around to particularly evil, incompetent or dishonest Forest Supervisors.

"Well, that's pretty awful about the Supervisor of the Willamette lying to you all, but do you know what the Supervisor of the Bridger-Teton said?" "We got a Forest Supervisor in California that ..." The war stories go on and on. The crushed beer cans fall to the ground, the hair on the back of the newcomers' necks rises, and the issue is never resolved.

Who is the worst SOB who's a National Forest Supervisor in the United States?

Earth First! wants to finally resolve that question, locate the prestigious individual and honor him for overcoming some pretty stiff competition. We also would just like to run a Rogue's Gallery on the villains running our National Forests.

So ... send us a paragraph describing the villainy, incompetence, pigheadedness, dishonesty, or corruption of your favorite Forest Supervisor. (Send a picture, too, if you can get one.) We'll publish all the nominations in a forthcoming *Earth First!* and pick the badest of the bad as Earth First! Forest Supervisor of the Year. The winner will receive a handsome certificate personally presented. Act now, don't delay. Send us the goods on your worst Freddie.

MAZE THREATENED BY TAR SANDS DEVELOPMENT

On virtually anyone's list of the premier wild areas remaining in the Lower 48, the Maze/Dirty Devil/Flint Trail region in the Utah Canyon Country will sit near the top. Part Canyonlands National Park, part Glen Canyon National Recreational Area, and part BLM, this priceless area is about to be turned into an industrial zone by development of tar sands and oil and gas leases. The National Park Service is doing an EIS on this travesty. You can get a copy of the draft and send your comments to NPS, POB 25287, Denver, CO 80225. The Earth First! position? NEVER!

NORTH CAROLINA HELP NEEDED

WANTED FOR WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA: EARTH FIRST! ORGANIZERS. I have been an Earth First! contact for several years and have managed to accumulate only a handful of additional tree huggers to our cause. I spent two years in the Sierra Club and am not willing to become enmeshed in meetings, fund raising, and small newsletter production again.

In an area that wholeheartedly supports the likes of Reagan, Jesse Helms and Bill Hendon, Earth First! needs someone to begin grassroots organizing in a traditional fashion. Asheville has a growing population of activists involved in the nuke freeze movement, women's rights, and Central America, but all are very conservative compared to the Deep Ecological views we hardcore Earth First!ers espouse.

There are a wide variety of crises in the beautiful southern Appalachians that need to be confronted: acid rain, rampant tourism, unwise development, pollution of the Pigeon River by Champion Paper, billboard proliferation, toxic wastes, defense industries, and the rapid acquisition of land for logging and mineral development.

We need a dynamism that I cannot provide in a leadership role (because, frankly speaking, I can't stand people). I am willing to expend blood, sweat and tears in defense of the Earth, but I am one lone voice and have not the timbre to gather forces to our holy cause. Volunteers, suggestions and support are welcomed.

Jay S. Gertz
120 High Valley
Alexander, NC 28701

BIGFOOT HUNTER ON THE LOOSE

"Pictures have been taken before, but nobody cares about pictures. If you get the one opportunity to obtain a Sasquatch, you had better make it stick. Tranquilizers and drugs are not feasible. That leaves us with either trying to invite it nicely with roses and a card, which will not work either, or treating it as an animal and putting it down with a rifle."

So states former post office worker Mark Keller of Eureka, California, as he starts off with two friends, a Smith & Wesson starlite scope and a .338 Winchester Magnum rifle to try to murder a Bigfoot somewhere in the Pacific Northwest. *Earth First!* readers who might want to stop this mad scheme should write Max Peterson, Chief, US Forest Service, POB 2417, Washington, DC 20013, and urge that the Forest Service not allow Keller to use national forest land for his evil game. Letters could also be sent to the Governors and Game & Fish Commissions of Washington, Oregon and California urging that Keller be stopped and that he be prosecuted for first-degree murder if he succeeds.

UTAH BLM WILDERNESS ON THE BLOCK

The Utah Bureau of Land Management is preparing a statewide environmental impact statement on their wilderness recommendations for public lands in the state. Earth First! needs to develop a comprehensive wilderness proposal for BLM lands in Utah in response. Please get in touch with us at POB 235, Ely, NV 89301 if you'd like to help or coordinate this proposal.

ESCALANTE YAHOOS LYNCH ENVIRONMEDDLER EFFIGY

by Jim Catlin

Robert Weed, hanged in effigy by those opposing wilderness a week ago, found his water supply vandalized and spikes placed in his driveway. Weed's house is near Calf Creek on the Escalante River in Southern Utah.

When the water pump wasn't working, Weed checked the spring and found a sign left during the night, "If you want wilderness, then carry your water." The water system had been broken and salt poured into the spring.

The spikes in boards hidden in the dirt driveway, caused Mrs. Weed's tires to go flat and according to the *Deseret News* she "nearly went over a cliff." Weed's children luckily didn't step on the spikes on their way to catch the school bus.

The Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, for which Weed is a director, has been active in protecting the Escalante River drainage. A week before, a dummy with Weed's name and the names of other wilderness advocates was dragged through town. Comparing the signs found at Weed's house and on the dummy, Weed said, "The same person did the printing."

Clive Kincaid, also a director of the Southern Wilderness Alliance claimed that this is only one incident in a history of intimidation of environmentalists in Utah. Kincaid and Weed met with the Escalante Mayor, Mohr Christensen, to try and defuse this situation. Even though the sheriff had photographed the damage, the mayor claimed Weed had "trumpted up" the whole thing.

"Do you know who funds that outfit (Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance)?" the Escalante Mayor stated in the *Deseret News*, "The EPA, they fund the Sierra Club. The Sierra Club funds this bunch of parasites down here."

Joe Bauman reported in the *Deseret News*, "This was an assault on a group of Americans, citizens of southern Utah, who are trying to exercise their perogative to speak out about what should be done with land that belongs to all of us."

Fighting for America's finest canyon country is dangerous in Utah. We can help wilderness supporters. There is something you can do. Send a donation to pay for the damage to Robert Weed, P.O. Box 348, Escalante, Utah 84726

JAPAN GREENS PROPOSE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

THE FIRST CONVENTION FOR PROTECTING THE LIFE OF THE EARTH

DATE: from 1st to 6th of October 1984
PLACE: HAKUBA Village, Nagano Prefecture, Japan
SPONSOR: Japan Green Party (KANTO Green Party and other locals)
CONTACT: Fukuroyama 687-10, Koshigaya-shi, Saitama-ken 343 Japan/telephone 0489 77 2392 (Ryu OTA)

We of the Japan Green Party believe that the life of the Earth is in great danger, and in order to save it environmentalists and indigenous peoples of the world must work together to build a global environmental movement. For this reason we have decided to hold the First Convention for Protecting the Life of the Earth for a period of six days, beginning October 1, 1984, in HAKUBA village, Japan, and make the necessary preparations.

TOPICS

1. To realize the seriousness of our ecological crisis, its history and causes.
2. To form a movement composed of the environmentalists and indigenous peoples to protect all life.
3. To propose concrete ways to advance our cause, and discuss the establishment of a world center for such purpose.
4. To appeal to all the peoples of the world for the total abolition of arms.
5. To appeal to all the peoples of the world to help build societies in which all living things can live together peacefully.

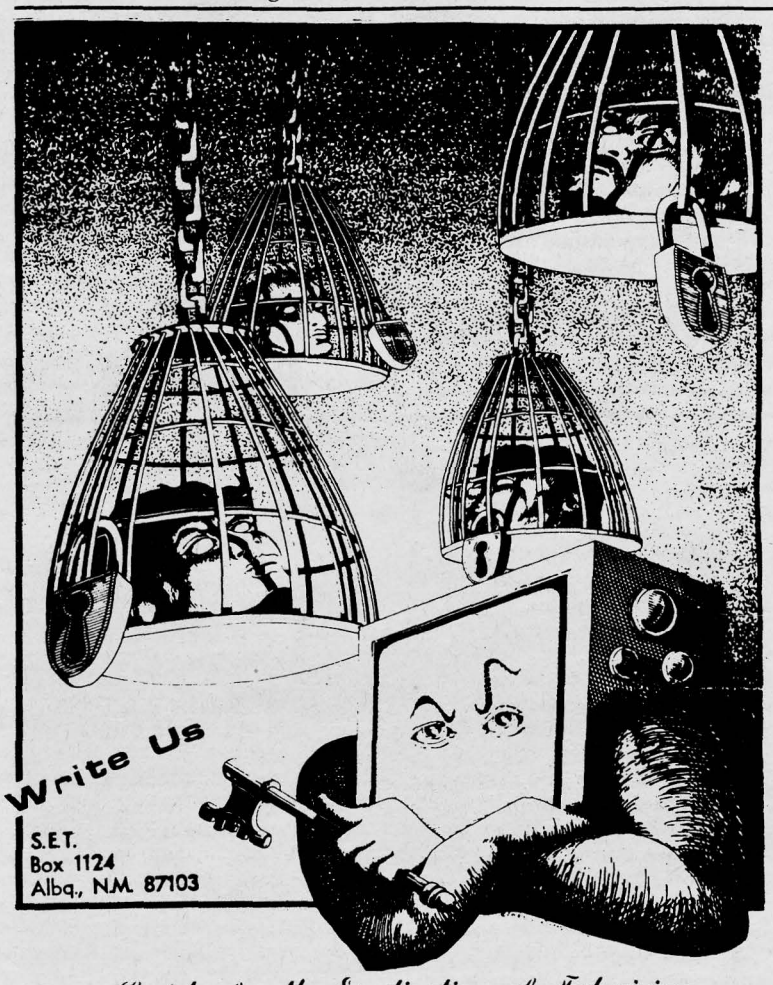
AGENDA

October 1-5 in HAKUBA (NAGANO prefecture) Discussion of the topics. Decide upon a course of action. Issue a joint declaration.
October 6, 7 Reception and party in NAGANO
October 10 Reception and party in TOKYO
October 13 Reception and party in MORIOKA (IWATE prefecture)

EXPENSES

1. *Travel expenses:*
Members of environmental organizations must pay their own traveling expenses. Members of organizations of native peoples should pay their own expenses if possible, but if it is not possible, we will pick up their expenses by getting contributions from institutions, organizations, and individuals in Japan or other countries.

2. *Expenses during stay in Japan:*
The participants do not have to pay such expenses as transportation, lodging, meals, and so on during the convention. However, if they want to travel or visit with other groups in Japan, they must pay their own expenses. We will of course be happy to tell people about groups they are interested in, and help them make contact.



Society for the Eradication of Television

●●●●●●●●●●●●

OKLAHOMA WILDERNESS

We generally don't think of Oklahoma as a state with much wilderness potential, but conservationists there, including Earth First!, are working to protect what wild country remains. Of the 248,000 acres of National Forest land in Oklahoma, there are four roadless areas totalling 26,000 acres. Additional lands could no doubt be rehabilitated. To become involved with the effort to preserve the natural diversity remaining in Oklahoma, contact Forrest Johnson (the Earth First! representative on the Oklahoma Wilderness Coalition) at 1402 Rebecca Lane, Norman, OK 73069; or the Coalition itself, c/o Mike Mueller 405-360-2407 or 325-2861.

SOCIETY FOR THE ERADICATION OF TELEVISION

Yes, you boob-tube haters, anti-modernists and neo-luddites, there is a Society for the Eradication of Television (SET). It's based in Albuquerque, New Mexico. For free information and a copy of their newsletter, write: SET, POB 1124, Albuquerque, NM 87103.

THE WEATHER FROM BALD MOUNTAIN

by Steve Marsden

On June 26, 1984, one of the most unnatural disasters ever to hit Oregon was signed into law. The Oregon wilderness bill is better called the Oregon Deforestation bill. Senator Mark "Clearcut" Hatfield was quick to laud his great environmental achievement of opening two-thirds of Oregon's remaining roadless area to the axe. The timber industry praised Senator Clearcut's leadership and the Association of Oregon Loggers also found this to be their kind of wilderness bill and gave it full support. Not to be outdone, the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society leadership jumped in to claim another great victory for wilderness. Once again the Sierra Club can bask in the glory of its Washington, D.C., environmentalism as it rolls over for another wilderness bill, any wilderness bill.

Our legal victory over the Bald Mt. road has been effectively nullified with the passage of the Deforestation Bill. Due to "release language" in the legislation all undesignated Wilderness areas in Oregon will now come under attack by the Forest Service and BLM, including the North Kalmiopsis. On the Siskiyou National Forest, the Forest Service plans a full scale assault against remaining roadless areas with some mammoth road construction projects: on the eastside of the Kalmiopsis at Whetstone Butte and Canyon Peak; to the north at Lawson Creek, Indigo Creek and our beloved Bald Mountain. In a recent meeting with the new Forest Supervisor, assurances were given that there were no plans for further construction into the Bald Mountain forest for the next two years. However, at that time the first timber sale with seven miles of road construction is anticipated.

In 1854 the Rogue Indian war began. It ended two years later in the North Kalmiopsis. The remaining native people were rounded up and shipped to a reservation far to the north. Seventy years later not one Rogue walked this earth. Now one hundred and thirty years later the Forest Service plans to complete its version of the circle, the circle of destruction. With the passage of the bill, we too can move on now that the air is cleared. The backroom double dealing of this Wilderness for that one is over. It is time to prepare ourselves, defenders of Bald Mountain. For in one year or two we know they will be coming, so we watch and wait.

In the meeting with the Forest Supervisor, he asked what areas we were particularly interested in. That was easy – "all of it."

For information or questions send inquiries to:
Kalmiopsis Action Alliance
P.O. Box 212
Williams, OR 97544

Letters to the Supervisor would be appreciated, nothing elaborate. "Please protect the North Kalmiopsis" is fine. A letter from Earth First! contacts around the country would be of help. WRITE:
Supervisor Ron McCormick
Siskiyou National Forest
P.O. Box 440
Grants Pass, OR 97526
Send a copy to:
Rep. Jim Weaver
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

●●

LOU GOLD RETURNS TO BALD MOUNTAIN

Last summer, Lou Gold spent several months camped on Bald Mountain as a witness to the destruction of the Kalmiopsis by the Forest Service road construction project. Now he has returned to his vigil at the Bald Mountain Sanctuary to guard against additional attempts to deface the largest roadless area in the national forests of Oregon. Lou welcomes visitors to his camp. Support for Lou's vigil is being coordinated by Shel Anderson (503) 592-4231 and Laurie Prouty (503) 592-4399 in Takilma, Oregon (12290 Takilma Road, Cave Junction, Oregon 97523).

Although the recently signed Oregon Wilderness Act removes the legal basis for the injunction against construction of the Bald Mountain Road (which was the site of 44 arrests last summer in the Earth First! blockade of construction), the new Siskiyou National Forest Supervisor has told local Earth First!ers and the media that there are no plans to continue road construction. Lou Gold's presence on the mountain and that of others will insure that the Forest Service doesn't try to pull any fast ones.

WILDERNESS AND PETROLEUM

PETROLEUM POTENTIAL OF WILDERNESS LANDS IN THE WESTERN UNITED STATES

by Elliott Bernshaw

A recent publication by USGS is a wealth of information for wilderness advocates who attempt to resolve resource conflicts. It is "Petroleum Potential of Wilderness Lands in the Western U.S.," Geological Survey Circular 902-A-P, 1983. It is available free from any of the distribution offices of the USGS.

If you haven't read it yet, or don't want to struggle with the data, perhaps I can satisfactorily point out the highlights.

In 1982-83, the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) conducted an investigation of the oil and gas potential of the designated and proposed wilderness lands in the western U.S., excluding Alaska and Hawaii. The total area included some 74 million acres of wilderness-identified lands in all eleven of the western states. These 74 million acres are administered by all four of the main agencies, i.e., the BLM, Forest Service, National Park Service and Fish & Wildlife Service.

Specifically, the wilderness-identified lands inventoried by USGS include all existing Designated Wilderness Areas, lands Administratively Endorsed as Suitable for Wilderness, Further Planning or Wilderness Study Areas (WSA's), BLM Wilderness Inventory Not Completed, BLM lands under appeal and Forest Service RARE II lands under litigation.

The following ratings of petroleum potential were applied to all wilderness-identified areas:

HIGH POTENTIAL – Highly favorable for oil and gas, areas near or on trend with existing production fields.

MEDIUM POTENTIAL – Favorable, containing known reservoir rocks and hydrocarbon source beds.

LOW POTENTIAL – Areas of poor or unknown hydrocarbon source beds and reservoir qualities.

ZERO POTENTIAL – Precambrian (before life) rocks, or other structures with no potential for trapping hydrocarbons.

UNKNOWN POTENTIAL – Areas of extremely difficult geology (!).

USGS concluded in its findings that roughly one-third of these 74 million acres of wilderness-identified lands have *some* potential for petroleum, another one-third has low to zero potential and the final one-third has no potential. Of course, USGS included lands having low (i.e., very low) in its figures for its so-called "one-third" having *some* (i.e., any) potential.

The data buried in the bulk of the report can be legitimately rearranged to be presented as in Table I. Now the Low, Low to Zero and Zero potential areas can easily be seen to be by far the petroleum potential of most of our wilderness-identified lands. There remains, however, a possibly troublesome 8.5 million acres of unavoidable High and Medium potential lands.

TABLE I
PETROLEUM POTENTIAL OF WESTERN WILDERNESS LANDS BY AGENCY

Federal Agency	Lower-48 States Total Acreage	Western Wilderness Acreage	Petroleum Potential High-Med.	Millions of Acres Low-Zero	Millions of Acres Unknown
B.L.M.	17.50	27.0	4.6	22.3	0.1
Forest Service	166.8	33.8	2.3	29.8	1.7
Nat'l Park	24.6	10.1	1.4	7.0	1.7
Fish & Wildlife	12.9	3.1	0.2	2.9	–
		74.0 million acres	8.5	62.0	3.5

My Table I also shows that of this "valuable" 8.5 million acres, only a total of 1.6 million are in national parks and wildlife refuge lands.

It is BLM and Forest Service wilderness-identified land that will have resource conflicts. USGS estimates that a total of 6.9 million acres of their wilderness land does have good petroleum potential. But even this area is not "lost."

How much oil and gas does USGS estimate is recoverable from not only these 8.5 million acres of good potential, but even from all the 74.0 million acres of all the wilderness-identified land in the Western U.S.? This is the key data. Answer: not much.

This USGS study concludes that recoverable oil from all the wilderness lands of all four main Federal agencies in the eleven western states is estimated to range from a minimum of 0.6 billion barrels to a maximum of 1.5 billion barrels.

This is a bit of oil, yet it really isn't. Let us take the maximum estimate of 1.5 billion barrels. U.S. annual consumption is around six billion barrels. At that rate, *all* of our western U.S. wilderness-identified lands, including those in the national parks, could only furnish some three months' supply. Thus, even by USGS's own study, don't look to what little remains of our wilderness lands to supply our oil needs, at least on a national scale.

Locally, however, some of the oil and gas can not be so easily dismissed. USGS has also reported the findings of this study state by state. As per my again legitimately rearranged data, Table II shows that some states' wilderness lands have more of a clear oil and gas conflict than other states.

For example, Utah and Montana each have over 2.0 million acres of wilderness-identified land that USGS rates as having good petroleum potential. Despite this high acreage of Utah and Montana, however, it is Wyoming and Idaho whose wilderness land USGS estimates can each produce more than 200 million barrels of oil.

When considering natural gas, it appears that Wyoming, Montana and Idaho's wilderness-identified lands have some hard to dismiss recoverable resource commodities, at least on a local level. Wilderness advocates – be forewarned, and prepare accordingly.

Also interesting was this study's figures of total Federal wilderness-identified lands state-by-state. California's 18.9 million such acres translates to nearly 20% of the entire state! Is this an indication of successful long-term environmental activism? Other states should well try to equal California's achievement.

New Mexico, however, appears to be a case for alarm. Its 2.7 million acres of wilderness-identified Federal land translates to only 3% of that state. This fact alone should make all wilderness advocates *insist* that most, if not all, Forest Service RARE areas and BLM WSA's in New Mexico should be given the protection of wilderness designation.

Additional documents dealing with mineral resources on our public lands are WILDERNESS MINERAL POTENTIAL: Assessment of Mineral-Resource Potential in U.S. Forest Service Lands Studied 1964-1984, by USGS, 1984 (not free – $40!, 2 volumes, hardbound); and MINERALS AND THE PUBLIC LANDS: An Analysis of Strategic Minerals Issues and Public Lands Policy, by Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, et. al., 1981 (free).

TABLE II
PETROLEUM POTENTIAL OF WILDERNESS LANDS* IN THE WESTERN U.S.**

State	Wilderness Acreage Total	% of State Area	Potential High-Med.	(Millions of Acres) Low-Zero	Unknown	Mean Est. Oil	Mean Est. Gas
Arizona	6.2	8%	0.2	6.0	–	3 m/b	8 b/cu. ft.
California	18.9	19%	0.03	18.9	–	12 m/b	5 b/cu. ft.
Colorado	4.5	7%	0.2	3.3	1.0	9 m/b	130 b/cu. ft.
Idaho	7.5	14%	0.2	7.3	0.03	207 m/b	1,850 b/cu. ft.
Montana	6.9	7%	2.5	4.4	0.03	30 m/b	3,000 b/cu. ft.
Nevada	8.0	11%	1.2	6.8	–	92 m/b	380 b/cu. ft.
New Mexico	2.7	3%	0.2	2.5	–	8 m/b	120 b/cu. ft.
Oregon	4.9	8%	0.1	4.8	–	3 m/b	70 b/cu. ft.
Utah	4.5	8%	2.9	1.6	–	120 m/b	270 b/cu. ft.
Washington	3.9	9%	–	3.9	–	1 m/b	20 b/cu. ft.
Wyoming	6.0	10%	1.0	2.5	2.5	350 m/b	3,800 b/cu. ft.
	74.0		8.5	62.0	3.5	*	**

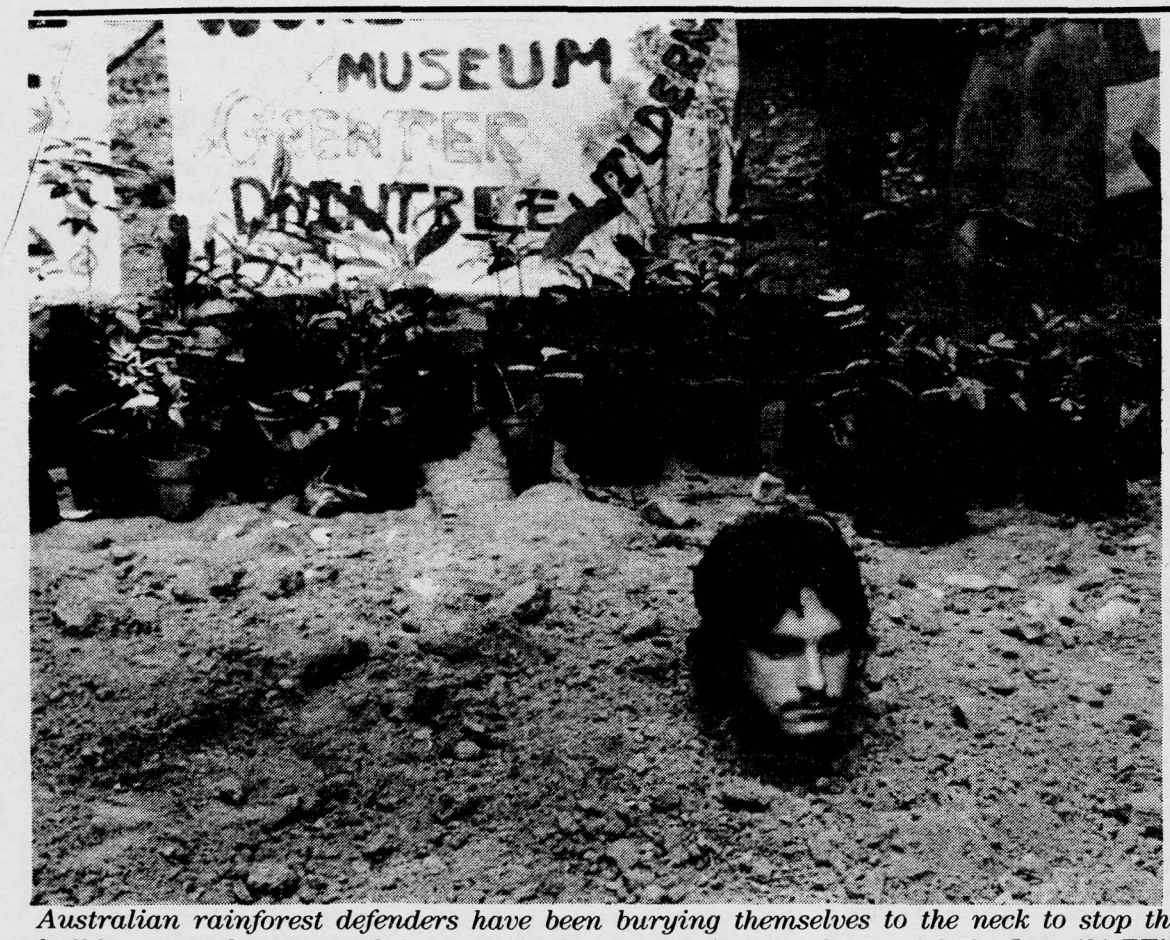
*Total recoverable *oil* is estimated from 0.6 b b (min.) to 1.5 b/b (max.). Current U.S. annual production is in excess of 3.0 b b (1983), with U.S. proven reserves estimated at 27 b/b (1983). U.S. annual consumption is currently at six b b (1982). b b = billion barrels.

**Total recoverable *natural gas* is estimated from 5 (min.) to 17 (max.) trillion/cubic feet. Current U.S. annual production is 17 t cu. ft. (1983), with U.S. proven reserves estimated at 200 t/cu. ft. (1983). U.S. annual consumption is currently at 20 t cu. ft. (1982).

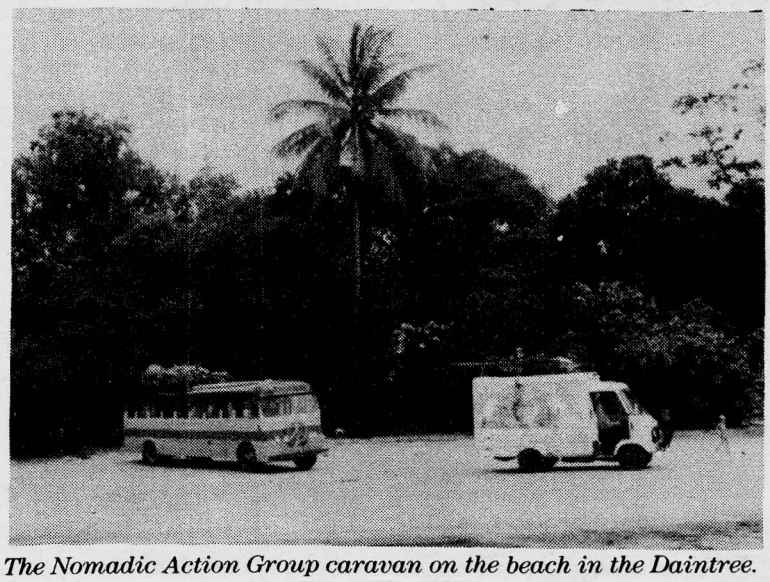
***Includes agency proposed wilderness, BLM wilderness study areas, etc.

SUBSCRIBE TO EARTH FIRST!

SEE PAGE 22



Australian rainforest defenders have been burying themselves to the neck to stop the bulldozers pushing a road through the Daintree Rainforest (see article in June '84 EF!). Photo by Peter Mitchell.



The Nomadic Action Group caravan on the beach in the Daintree.

EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT THE US FOREST SERVICE – BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK

by Bobcat

No one outside the Forest Service can either substantiate or repudiate these numbers. They become literally a matter of faith.
– Society of American Foresters
April 1984

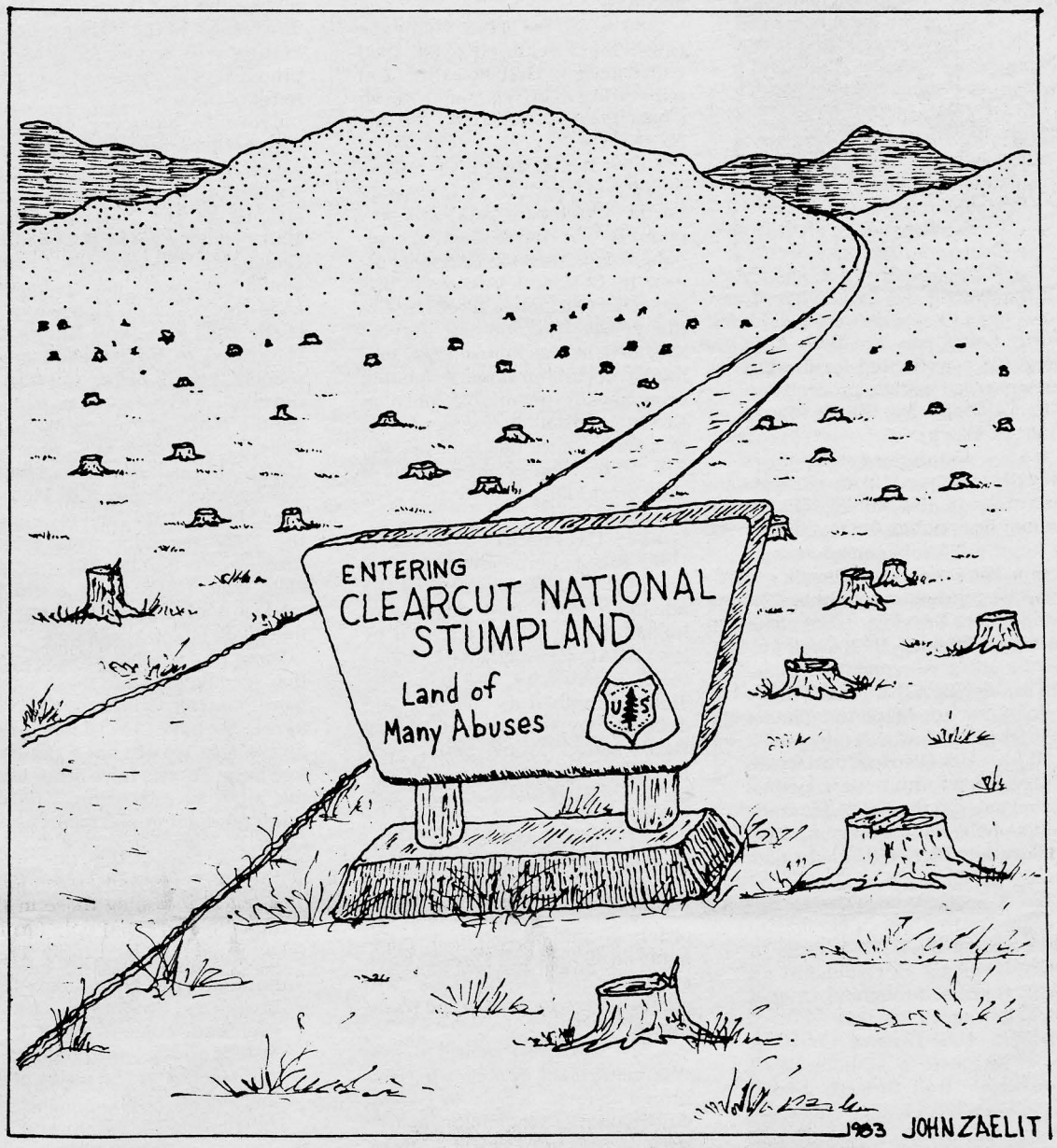
Some people rob you with a six-gun, others with a fountain pen.
– Woody Guthrie

The Forest Service is currently operating as an outlaw agency. Unfortunately for the many honest and hardworking people in the local District Offices, goings-on in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy have created a situation as scandalous as that uncovered in the EPA. Currently spearheaded by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture John Crowell (former Chief Counsel for convicted anti-trust violator Louisiana-Pacific), the Forest Service's battle against Wilderness and the few remaining stands of virgin timber is only one aspect of intentionally biased management, extending from deficit timber sales and destructive clear-cuts through non-existent or inadequate reforestation efforts to the irresponsible use of herbicide poisons. Laws are being violated so that the large timber corporations and chemical companies can increase their profits.

Assertions like this need to be backed up, and each month more and more evidence shows up in the environmental journals. For example:

USFS researchers reviewed and summarized 64 studies estimating dollar values for wildlife, wilderness and recreation. In the major long-term planning document for which this review was commissioned, the 1985 RPA Draft EIS, these dollar values were arbitrarily reduced a uniform 37.5%, apparently as a result of a memo from the Department of Agriculture to the RPA staff in September 1983 (shortly after a preliminary draft containing the original figures had been submitted to Assistant Secretary Crowell's office). Although thousands of pages of documentation were made available to Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants under Freedom of Information Act requests, the USFS refused to release this particular memo. The reason for the altered figures and subsequent cover-up is all-too-obvious and familiar: when dollar values for wildlife, wilderness and recreation are falsified in a downward direction the relative value of the high timber harvest alternative is increased. (*Forest Planning*, 4/84, pp. 8 & 22.)

We have become accustomed to a climate of media-enhanced confrontations between loggers and environmentalists over the fate of our National Forests, but things are no longer this simple. Perhaps most basically, the economics of timber production has changed, and new big-business administrators in Washington must twist the laws more and more out of shape in order to allow the large corporations to strip the west of her last remaining timber before leaving for the tree plantations in the South. Read the forest industry magazines ... no matter what we do, in one year or in ten, the corporations will be gone, taking their timber jobs and money with them. The only question is, can we stop this process before more damage is done to the landbase which must support us all and our children in the future, loggers and environmentalists together?



Deficit Sales = Corporate Subsidies

While this is not new, it has reached epic proportions since the building industry recession. From 1975 to 1982, the number of National Forests that lost money on their timber sales rose from 67% to 79%, and the total dollar loss to taxpayers jumped from a yearly average of $30 million (1975-80) to a whopping $234,000,000 in fiscal 1982, when not one Region in the West earned more revenue than was spent for administrative and road building costs. Even the Pacific Northwest, the most productive Region, lost $46 million (UPI, 4/8/84). Was this deficit in the Northwest so large because of expenditures for roads build for the timber sales (totaling 13 billion board feet) which never paid off because of timber company contract defaults?

In Colorado, four new forest plans are currently being appealed on economic grounds. The Natural Resources Defense Council and the Colorado State Department of Natural Resources point out that these plans violate the law (as set down by the National Forest Management Act) by failing to exempt from production lands where commercial timber cannot be sold profitably. Colorado Senator Gary Hart has asked the US General Accounting Office to investigate the plans, which propose doubling current harvest levels despite USFS staff reports from computer projections which recommended that present harvest levels be *reduced* 85% for reasons of economy.

These deficits, in Colorado and elsewhere, are generally occuring on remote, low-productivity sites where the main expense thus far has been road-building, and the money for adequate reforestation efforts has not yet been expended. In fact, foresters have been explicitly told not to consider the cost of reforestation in their planning: "Do not prejudge the economic viability of the use of intensive cultural practices in identifying tentatively suitable lands" (USFS Chief Max Peterson, 7/14/83). If they did look at such costs, it might become *too* obvious that sales from marginal lands would lose lots of money. Even prime land is expensive to reforest. In the area around Oregon's Willamette NF, where timber sales now average $170 mbf (thousand board feet), private foresters estimate the cost of growing Douglas fir timber for a 60-year rotation on productive ground to be over $800/acre.

Timber from land more expensive to reforest (which might also grow in less dense stands) still seems to be sold *very* cheaply. Stumpage rates from (formerly) roadless areas range from $3 mbf in Alaska's Tongass NF to $35 mbf in California's Six Rivers NF, while the prices of comparable timber on roaded areas in the same forest goes for $130 mbf. Yet Crowell still speaks of using the National Forests to generate money into the US Treasury, and cites $400 mbf as a "conservative estimate" of the value of timber in the Northwest.

The Question of Economics

The classic conservationist lament, that "dollar values prevail over non-market values" needs to be updated. Most of the commercial timber remaining in the National Forests is old-growth in remote areas which cannot be economically harvested and reforested. Long-term trends and current market conditions have raised expenses, and thus reduced the net monetary value of timber. Logging in most areas of the National Forests can continue only if "corporate profit values" prevail over a balanced budget, and taxpayers subsidize the industry through deficit timber sales.

In this new situation, dollar values have now come over to the side of forest ecology, wilderness and watershed protection.

Legal History

While any federal agency can expect to have its actions questioned by citizen groups, the number of successful lawsuits against the Forest Service has risen markedly in recent years in response to the agency's increased defiance of statute law and federal court enforcement.

11 73 – U.S. District Court rules that excessive clearcutting practices in West Virginia's Monongahela NF are illegal under the Organic Act of 1897.

8 75 – U.S. 4th Circuit Court upholds the Monongahela decision.

12 75 – U.S. District Court in Alaska stops clearcutting sales on a 50-year timber contract, citing the Monongahela decision.

8 76 – U.S. District Court Judge William Justice orders an injunction against further clearcutting in the National Forests of East Texas, citing violations of the Multiple Use – Sustained Yield Act, and NEPA.

9 76 – Congress passes the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) and specifically legalizes clearcutting. In direct response to the recent court decisions, the practice of forestry is to be "taken out of the courts, and put back in the hands of professionals."

10 76 – U.S. District Court prohibits USFS logging in violation of Portland, Oregon's Bull Run Watershed Act. Despite this ruling, 13 *new* clearcuts were proposed in 1984.

3 77 – U.S. District Court prohibits USFS use of the herbicides 2,4,5-T and Silvex until an adequate EIS is prepared for the Suislaw NF in Oregon.

5 78 – U.S. 5th Circuit Court overules the injunction against clearcutting in East Texas, because of the passage of NFMA.

1979 – Four days *before* RARE II was presented to Congress, M. Rupert Cutler, Crowell's predecessor, ordered the USFS to begin timber harvest on 36 million acres of land *not* recommended for wilderness. (Illegal restriction on the scope of the Congressional Mandate.)

1980-1981 – Mount St. Helen's National Monument: USFS clearcuts boundaries and builds an extensive road system, thereby precluding expansion of the protected area without public input or a management plant. This violates NEPA and NFMA, at least, but there was *no lawsuit*.

10 82 – U.S. 9th Circuit Court prohibits development in 40 roadless areas in California due to inadequate EIS and RARE II (California vs. Block). Suit originally filed in summer of 1979.

continued on page 12

THE FOREST SERVICE: DE

1 83 – USFS draws up EA's for timber sales for five roadless areas in Six-Rivers NF where development was specifically prohibited by California vs. Block.

5 83 – U.S. District Court finds the USFS in violation of Native American religious freedom, prohibits logging of the 67,000 acre Blue Creek Roadless Area in California, violates NEPA, the Wilderness Act and the Administrative Procedures Act.

5 83 – U.S. District Court: Herbicide spray in six watersheds of the Suislaw NF and BLM's Medford District in Oregon is declared illegal until an adequate worst-case analysis of herbicide toxic effects is completed (Merrell vs. Block).

6 83 – The illegal use of $39,000 in Job Bill money to finance the herbicide spray program in the Klamath NF was halted due to citizen protest.

6 83 – Court rules that is it illegal for the USFS to spray herbicides in defiance of a local county ordinance (Trinity County, California) (Sierra Club vs. Peterson).

7 83 – U.S. District Court issues preliminary injunction against road building on the Bald Mountain road, North Kalmiopsis Roadless Area, Oregon. Crowell cited for illegally allowing road work to proceed despite California vs. Block (Earth First! vs. Block).

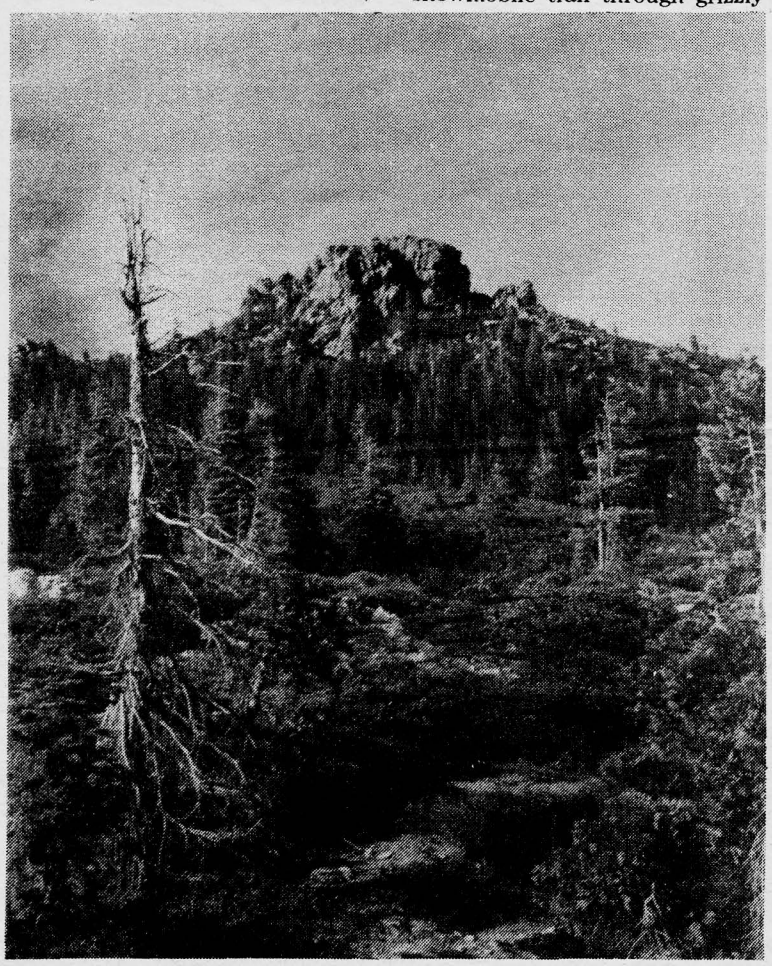
8 83 – 450 dump trucks of ore illegally removed from Gasquet Mountain in Six Rivers NF; EA hidden from public for two weeks. State of California considers legal action, but there is no lawsuit.

8 83 – Injunction sought against timber sales for violation of clearcutting guidelines, NFMA soil protection provisions, and inadequate EIS under NEPA (National Wildlife Association vs. Mapleton Ranger District in Suislaw NF) (Oregon).

10/83 – U.S. District Court issues a preliminary injunction against timber sales in the Kettle Planning Unit, Colville NF, Washington, citing California vs. Block (EIS inadequate under NEPA).

12/83 – Oregon Natural Resources Council files suit in federal court against the USFS in order to prohibit illegal development in RARE II areas throughout Oregon (re. California vs. Block).

1 84 – U.S. District Court in Wyoming closes a 15-mile USFS snowmobile trail through grizzly bear threatened and endangered species habitat, and rules that the assessment of wildlife impact by the Beartooth Plateau EIS was inadequate.



The Forest Service wanted to build the GO Road past sacred Chimney Rock in the Siskiyou Mountains. Photo by Dave Van DeMark.

2 84 – Sierra Club challenge causes the Ouachita NF to halt road construction, timber sales, and mineral leases in Oklahoma's Beech Creek Roadless Area (re. Cal. vs. Block).

2/84 – Aspen sales of 50 million board feet/year (for a Louisiana-Pacific waferboard mill) are proposed for the Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre and Gunnison National Forests in Colorado. Although this aspen harvest alone exceeds by 43% the yearly programmed harvest specified in the Forest Plan, and mostly occurs on land designated economically unsuitable, only an Environmental Assessment was prepared. There has been no full EIS, no revision or amendment of the Forest Plan ... and no appeal or lawsuit as yet.

3/84 – U.S. District Court bans all USFS & BLM herbicide use in Oregon and Washington, pending the adequate worst case analysis of human health effects required by law (NCAP vs. Block). After a long series of lawsuits, and what the Judge described as "balking and delaying" by the agencies, Judge Burns stated, "You'd better start preparing the analysis or I'll put Secretary Block and Secretary Clark in jail!"

4/84 – In response to the Burns decision, and perhaps to the Vietnam Vets' Agent Orange lawsuit, Forest Service Chief Max Peterson orders an end to herbicide aerial spray on all National Forests. However, ground applications will continue outside Oregon and Washington.

4/84 – Suislaw NF refuses to close Waxmyrtle Road, thus allowing continued vehicle access to coastal endangered species habitat, in defiance of Oregon's Coastal Management Act and the requests of the Lane County Board of Supervisors (no lawsuit yet).

4/84 – Acting District Ranger in Sweet Home, Oregon, *lies* to the Middle Santiam Wilderness Committee, stating that no operations were taking place in the Pyramid Sale Area, when in fact cutting had already begun. No lawsuit has yet been filed under the "Ethics in Government" law.

4/84 – U.S. District Court in Oregon prohibits further timber sales in the 200,000 acre, 100 million board feet/year producing Mapleton Ranger District (Suislaw NF), until a District-specific land use plan and adequate EIS are prepared – including a "worst case analysis" of the effects of clearcutting on salmon and trout habitat, and an assessment of the cumulative effects of *all* logging in the watershed, public and private.

Honest Intentions?

In the past, Forest Service policies of monoculture, clearcutting, and herbicide use, while ecologically disastrous and therefore destructive of long-term sustained yield, could be seen to result simply from ignorance and a mechanistic bias toward the practices of industrial agriculture.

However, when seen in the context of timber industry subsidies and the legal history outlined here, certain policies (accompanied by the statements and actions of John Crowell) have caused many people to consider that there is no longer any respect in the higher echelons of the Forest Service for either the principal of sustained yield or the letter of the law.

Crowell's advocacy of greatly increased harvests has even the career professionals worried. By weakening the clearcutting constraints of the National Forest Management Act (NFMA), and the Endangered Species Act, Crowell would personally like to harvest levels proposed by alternative #9 of the 1985 RPA Draft EIS for the year 2030 to be achieved much sooner: "I think before the turn of the century we've got to be managing the National Forests for 20-25 billion" (*Wilderness,* Summer 1983). Although this is double the highest yearly output of 10.5 billion board feet in 1977 (and four times the 1982 recession year level), Crowell feels that the full potential yield from USFS lands could be made to double *again,* to an incredible 40-45 billion board feet.

Some professional foresters feel that speculations like these sound more like a tree farm than a national forest: "We have to keep reminding people that we are not a national tree farm. Forests have other uses, too, such as recreation, wildlife, water production, and wilderness." (Jack H. Usher, Region 6 Timber. Manager, 8/81.) Yet Crowell's thought goes one step further, from farm to factory:

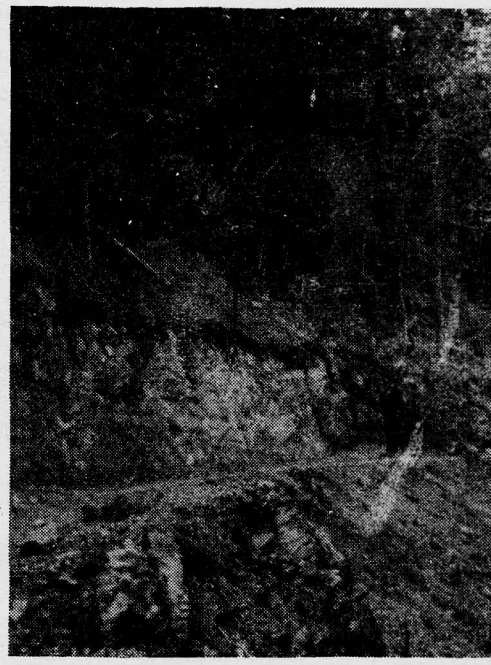
> "To keep national forests productive, managers need to liquidate the accumulated inventory. Production will eventually come to a halt, if instead of selling the product, you stack it in the aisles of the factory" (1981).

This vision of our national forests as merely *product inventories* clashes directly with the Multiple Use/Sustained Yield law. Unfortunately, however, Crowell is acting as if the changes which must take place in this law in order to legitimatize his philosophy have already taken place:

> "Many seem to believe that nondeclining yield remains the policy of the Forest Service. Nothing could be further from the truth ... Departures are entirely consistent with policy." (Crowell's classic 1984-style NewSpeak and DoubleThink, quoted in the December '83 issue of *Forest Planning.)*

These "departures" involve increasing harvest levels beyond the "long-term average sale quantity," "nondeclining even-flow," or sustainable yield. Current harvest levels have already been raised above the rate of natural regeneration, due to USFS foresters' claims that "intensive management techniques" will enable them to grow trees faster (and better?) than Mother Nature. Questionable as this practice is (see the "Reforestation" discussion below), Crowell proposes to go one step further, and harvest more than even these high levels for at least the next 20 years in some forests.

Plans for the Klamath and Deschutes National Forests already call for departures. New forest plans are in the works for most other National Forests, and many of them, such as the Rogue River NF, will probably also call for departures. Three out of nine alternatives in the 1985 RPA Draft EIS for the years 1985-2030 propose departures.



BaldMt. Road in Kalmiopsis Roadless Area

Past and current timber industry subsidies give a clue as to the reasons for what the law clearly intends as an exceptional practice, to be used only in unusual circumstances.

The Law: Departures from nondeclining even-flow can be made only if consistent with "overall multiple use management objectives." Besides salvage sales of timber damaged by fire or disease, reasons for departures include preventing "a substantial adverse impact upon a community in the economic area where the forest is located" (NFMA, 1976).

The Myth: Departure is necessary for "community stability." – Klamath NF planners at public hearings.

The Reality: The departure alternative was chosen "only to meet the RPA targets" (timber quotas) and for no other reasons. – Klamath NF Supervisor, memo to the Regional Forester, 6/29/82 (quoted in *Forest Planning,* May '83).

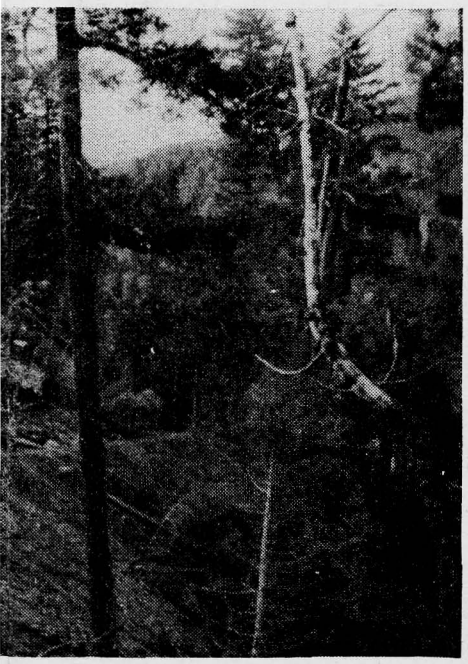
In this context, "community stability" means corporate subsidy. In line with a statement by the Bridger-Teton NF Supervisor that, "We have a responsibility to keep the Louisiana-Pacific Mill in business," Crowell has stated the need to harvest timber "at levels greater than is economically efficient for the purpose of aiding *dependent industries* in nearby communities" (emphasis added) ("Economics Policy Statement" in *Forest Planning* (12/83).

However, when the issue is creating non-industrial jobs, such as manual brush clearing alternatives to herbicide spray, we hear something different: "Creating jobs for people is not our mandate," according to Ralph Kizer, Supervisor, Idaho Panhandle NF, 7/82.

Reforestation

The USFS' bias toward big business might not be so offensive if

CEIT, ARROGANCE & CORPORATE CONTROL



they were actually fulfilling their principal mandate – to take care of the land they harvest. However, it is precisely the poor quality of their stewardship which has been the basis for legal action.

The Law: "Sustained yield ... means the achievement and maintenance in perpetuity of a high-level annual or regular periodic output of the various renewable resources of the National Forests without impairment of the productivity of the land": Multiple Use/Sustained Yield Act, 1960. Specifically, management must be able to "ensure timber production from the land without irreversible resource damage to soils, productivity, or watershed conditions" (NFMA, 1976).

The Myth: Using "intensive management" techniques of reforestation (genetically improved trees, herbicide brush control, fertilizers, and thinning) to justify increased cutting, pre-1982 maximum harvest levels of 12 billion board feet could rise to 22 billion by the year 2030 if alternative #9 of the 1985 Draft RPA is chosen.

The Reality: One third of the forests (private and public) in the Pacific Northwest are "understocked" (either never or inadequately replanted) (Silen, USFS Report PNW-137, 6/82).

Data is lacking to support Forest Service assertions about the effectiveness of their intensive management techniques. – U.S. General Accounting Office Report, "Better Data Needed to Determine the Extent to which Herbicides Should Be Used on the Public Lands," 1981.

When these techniques are successful, they "mine" the soil of nutrients to produce at best a single generation of fast-growing, wide-ringed, and knotty trees good only for pulp wood, and the soils are left depleted (c.f. Silen, 6/82).

Lack of Data, False Data, and Biased Future Projections

1979 – Forest Service and Oregon State Department of Forestry predict the loss of 20,000 jobs and 936 million board feet of timber in the Northwest if the herbicide 2,4,5-T were not used. In 1983, the Forest Service and other witnesses could not claim the loss of a single job due to the cancellation of 2,4,5-T – hearings on NCAP vs. Block.

1979 – Eighty percent of 2000 acres scheduled for herbicide spray did not require it, i.e., the timber was dominant over the brush – study by Groundwork Inc. in Willamette National Forest.

1979 – "There is no empirical base for the increased timber yields that are claimed to result from herbicide use" – unchallenged testimony of economist Jan Newton before the House Agricultural Committee.

1983 – Klamath National Forest Plan

This plan was the first to appear which called for departures from sustained yield. A close look at this document shows the kind of warped data analysis which the USFS uses to exaggerate the benefits of increased harvest levels.

It is hard to believe that mere incompetence is responsible for this kind of inaccurate and misleading information:

- Old growth doubles in volume every 20 to 50 years.
- Second growth will have more volume by age 30 than old growth has now.
- Thinnings increase timber volume by 50%.
- Fish population will remain the same whether 180 or 310 million board feet is harvested.

1984 – The only documentation for a claim that recreation and wildlife programs in one National Forest would cost an extra $698,000 if timber were not harvested turns out to be a statement that these numbers "are estimates based on professional judgment" (*Forest Planning*, 3/84, p. 6).

1984 – Draft EIS: 1985-2030 RPA Program.

The Resources Planning Act (RPA) of 1974 requires that the USFS periodically assess forest resources and prepare a comprehensive management plan to cover the current and future activities of all National Forests. Specific plans for each individual Forest are then based upon the broad RPA planning alternative which the USFS selects. Input into the choice of RPA alternative plans provides the most basic way for Congress and the public to have a voice in, and an understanding of, what goes on in our national forests.

Thus, the major document affecting forest planning at this moment is the 1985 RPA Draft EIS. Unfortunately, this report is seriously flawed, "systematically and deliberately biased toward timber, grazing, and other market resources," according to a lengthy review prepared by the Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants for the Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife & Parks and the Northwest Indian Fish Commission.

What makes this bias most clear is the simple fact that timber was the *only* resource which RPA planners projected to increase in value over time.

In general, it seems that manipulation of data was used by RPA planners to underestimate the value of what high timber harvests would sacrifice, and overestimate the value of high-harvest side-effects. For example, dollar values for wildlife, wilderness and recreation were arbitrarily reduced 37.5% from data presented by USFS researchers.

In contrast, water yield values were skewed upwards (more clearcuts – more runoff) by using the consumer price index to adjust 1969 dollar values of irrigation water. However, this is an agricultural resource (not a consumer commodity). Agricultural prices and the real value of water have not risen to match current inflation. (*Forest Planning*, 4/84, pp. 8, 9, 222.)

Reading through this report provides a valuable education in USFS bureaucratic thought. For example, from the Region 6 RPA study guide we learn that, "Both recreation and wilderness cannot be optimized at the same time" (p. 11).

Hypothesis: The Big Lie Gets Bigger

Hopefully, a clear picture emerges from the preceding: The Forest Service supports policies which push for higher timber harvests that subsidize the timber corporations, while at the same time damaging the environment and the timber producing capability of the land.

However, current economic factors and legal precedents are pressing for responsible forest practices.

Caught in a big lie – that the USFS can still grow trees for profit using environmentally sound practices, that their methods of harvesting and reforestation are economically efficient and compatible with sustained yield – Crowell and others simply respond by making the Big Lie bigger, by going further and further out on the limb.

In the past, they were at least able to make money, but things have changed. Market prices have lowered, while harvesting costs increase as more expensive roads climb into more inaccessible country, reaching out for the last stands of Wilderness old growth in harsh terrain and steep slopes that are often impossible or too costly to successfully reforest.

Like any entrenched bureaucracy infected with top-level corruption at the end of an expansive growth cycle, the Forest Service chooses to ignore the changes, and bases its Big Lie on intensive management practices that are alleged to make possible doubling and tripling current harvest levels.

A closer look at these practices shows how the lie gets bigger. Current forest harvest levels are determined by the Allowable Cut Effect (ACE) established by NFMA in 1976. The more growth that can be projected, the more trees that can be harvested and still maintain a sustained yield.

Using ACE, Forest Service timber managers figure in the effects of (1) genetically improved seedlings, (2) herbicide "release" of trees allegedly suppressed by "competing" brush, (3) the use of nitrogen fertilizers, and (4) thinning techniques, in order to project growth rates that justify larger and larger harvests.

However, there are at least two flaws in this scheme. First, "release," whether herbicide or manual, is not specifically cited in the ACE law as a management practice. Therefore its use by the USFS in projected yield tables is illegal. The way things are going, this will probably be challenged in the courts. This is a major factor in their equations that they stand to lose. They already will have to adjust their yield tables because of the recent herbicide ban.

Second, under the ACE law all intensive management practices are due for final evaluation in 1986, when ineffective ones must be dropped from use in the harvest-level equations. Of course there is hardly any research on these practices, nor does there seem to be any *interest* in having such research done. Reagan's proposed budget for the USFS cuts research money back 23.5% and eliminates 420 out of 2600 research positions in an already insufficient program. Given the growing public scrutiny of Forest Service assertions, it seems likely that ACE-sanctioned intensive management practices will not survive the evaluation in 1986, and Crowell probably realizes this.

So, make the Big Lie bigger, announce that nondeclining even-flow is no longer Forest Service practice, that departures are consistent with policy, and project huge increases in timber harvests to dazzle the hopefully gullible public – what else can a bureaucrat do?

Bobcat (W. Robert Brothers, BA Harvard '66, PhD Berkeley '72) has lived in the backcountry for the last 10 years as a tree planter and organic farmer where he has had considerable opportunity to study the US Forest Service. In the Sept. issue of EF!, *he will look for solutions to the problem of the Forest Service. Bobcat may be reached at 14894 Galice Road, Merlin, OR 97532.*

NO SPRAY

SACRED COWS AT THE PUBLIC TROUGH

by Denzel and Nancy Ferguson

When a resource is owned by everyone, it is owned by no one. And when a resource owned by everyone is exploited, individuals or commodity interests may reap substantial wealth, while the loss is apportioned among the exploited owners. As absentee landlords, the public entrusts the management of its resources to administrative bureaucracies, but this arrangement is critically flawed. Bureaucrats are rewarded and promoted whether they manage well or poorly, when they make decisions that favor themselves and their bureaucracies, when their fortunes are linked directly to those of the exploiters of the resources being administered, and when they exercise authority without being accountable to market forces, such as profits, losses, and demands.

Public resources are seldom managed in the public's interests, and the dismal results are nowhere more evident than in the use of public lands by private stockmen. Furthermore, rangeland abuses are intensified by open-range practices inherited form the Spanish, who had already devastated their own forests and rangelands before coming to the New World. Today, in the West, cattle roam essentially at will, husbandry is minimal, range stewardship is an abomination, and most bureaucrats don't really give a damn.

In the 11 western states (exluding Alaska), about 48 percent of the land is publicly owned, including 174 million acres administered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and 186 million by the U.S. Forest Service. Most western stockmen, but only five percent of the nation's ranchers, hold grazing permits on these lands, and many graze both BLM and Forest Serivce lands. Among the 36,000 permit holders are some small operators, but corporate ranchers and large operators predominate. For example, 63 percent of all sheep grazed on public lands belong to only six percent of the sheep owners, and 90 percent of all American cattlemen owning 1,000 or more cows graze on public lands – the result being that 40 percent of all public grazing is controlled by only three percent of the stockmen. Domination by the rich and powerful was not the original intention of the current system.

In 1984, ranchers will pay $1.37 a month to graze a cow and her calf on public land – 58 percent less than they paid in 1980 and only a fraction of the true value of the forage, which cost $10 or more on private land. Using the BLM's grazing receipts for 1981, the Oregon Natural Resources council calculated that taxpayers paid a subsidy of nearly $14 that year for each animal grazed on BLM land in Oregon and Washington. Besides denying the public a fair return, cheap forage encourages overgrazing, invites grazing on unproductive, fragile lands that should be spared, and keeps unworthy land stewards afloat.

Stockmen using public lands claim to be producing red meat for a hungry world, but, of course, no nation of hungry people can afford to import American beef. Instead, the United States buys and imports 40 percent of all the beef sold on world markets, and a substantial amount is purchased from nations whose citizens suffer inadequate diets. Public lands account for about three percent of the nation's beef supply – only two pounds of the 77 pounds per person consumed in 1982. Dave Foreman of *Earth First!* said it best. "We could produce more beef on road rights-of-way in the eastern states than is being produced on all the public rangelands in the West."

Nevada, home of the Sagebrush Rebellion and cavorting cattlemen, illustrates the puniness of western beef production. The 87 percent of Nevada in public ownership produces only 49 percent of the state's forage, and on 49 million acres of BLM land, an average of 27 acres is needed to feed a cow for a month. In contrast, an Alabama cow can feed for an entire year on just 3.5 acres, and Florida produces as much beef as Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Washington combined! Nevada, with only 0.3 percent of the nation's cattle and a ranching population that is outnumbered by employees of Reno's MGM Grand, ranks 37th among the states of beef production – on a par with Vermont.

The point is, the West's beef production on public lands is piddling – we import 3.5 times more. But for a minuscule contribution to the national food supply, the public costs in dollars, environmental degradation, and lost options are staggering.

In 1983, the U.S. Treasury collected about $9.4 million from BLM and Forest Service grazing programs, while Americans were spending 55 times that amount ($517 million) on *birdseed*. That year, the BLM got 11.1 cents in return for every dollar spent on grazing programs, and the Forest Service recovered 38 cents for each dollar spent. Does it make sense to screw up 360 million acres of public land for the benefit of a few thousand private stockmen, when 100 million Americans depend on those same lands for wildlife-oriented recreation? The $40 billion spent annually on outdoor recreation approaches $46.7 billion, which is the value for all of the cows in the nation. Yet, in the Northwest Region of the Forest Service, 938 grazing permitees denigrate 32,851,400 visitor days per year by the public. And the BLM alots only one percent of its budget to wildlife and employs one full-time wildlife biologist for each 3.36 million acres, an area the size of Connecticut. How much are we willing to pay for two pounds of hamburger?

According to the United Nations, man-made deserts have invaded an area larger than Brazil, desertification is affecting an area the size of North and South America combined, and 51.9 million acres are lost to man-made desert each year. Livestock grazing is the major cause of desertification. In the United States, mainly in the arid West, desertification is rampant and has claimed 225 million acres (an area equivalent to the 13 original states) and threatens an equal acreage. Today, parts of New Mexico are in worse shape than the Sahel.

Only the plow surpasses livestock grazing as a cause of soil erosion. If soil is valued at only $0.25 per ton, then the 2.8 tons lost per acre each year in the West exceeds the per acre income from grazing fees on public lands by 3.7 times. Reservoirs and dams capturing runoff from overgrazed public lands are filling with sediment at an alarming rate.

In the 11 western states, cattle alone consume more forage than did all the pristine populations of native big game animals. Today, public forage is allocated to cattle, the land is stripped during the growing season, cattle are moved to the home ranch to be fed winter rations, and game animals are left to winter or perish on the meager remnants. Of the estimated populations of big game originally present in the 11 western states, survivors include 0.0001 percent of the bison, 2-3 percent of the pronghorns, one percent of the bighorn sheep, 25 percent of the elk, and 72 percent of the deer, and no significant improvements can be expected without a major reallocation of habitat and forage on public lands.

Apologists for the livestock industry claim that grazing of domestic livestock is a useful tool in wildlife management, and in 1980, 75 percent of all grasslands on national wildlife refuges was being grazed primarily by cattle. But the absurdity of this claim is clearly seen at Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in southeastern Oregon.

From its inception in 1908 until 1940, cattle grazing at Malheur was kept below 40,000 AUM's (AUM equals the forage consumed by a cow in a month). Then in the 1940's grazing pressures soared and had more than tripled to 127,000 AUM's in 1972.

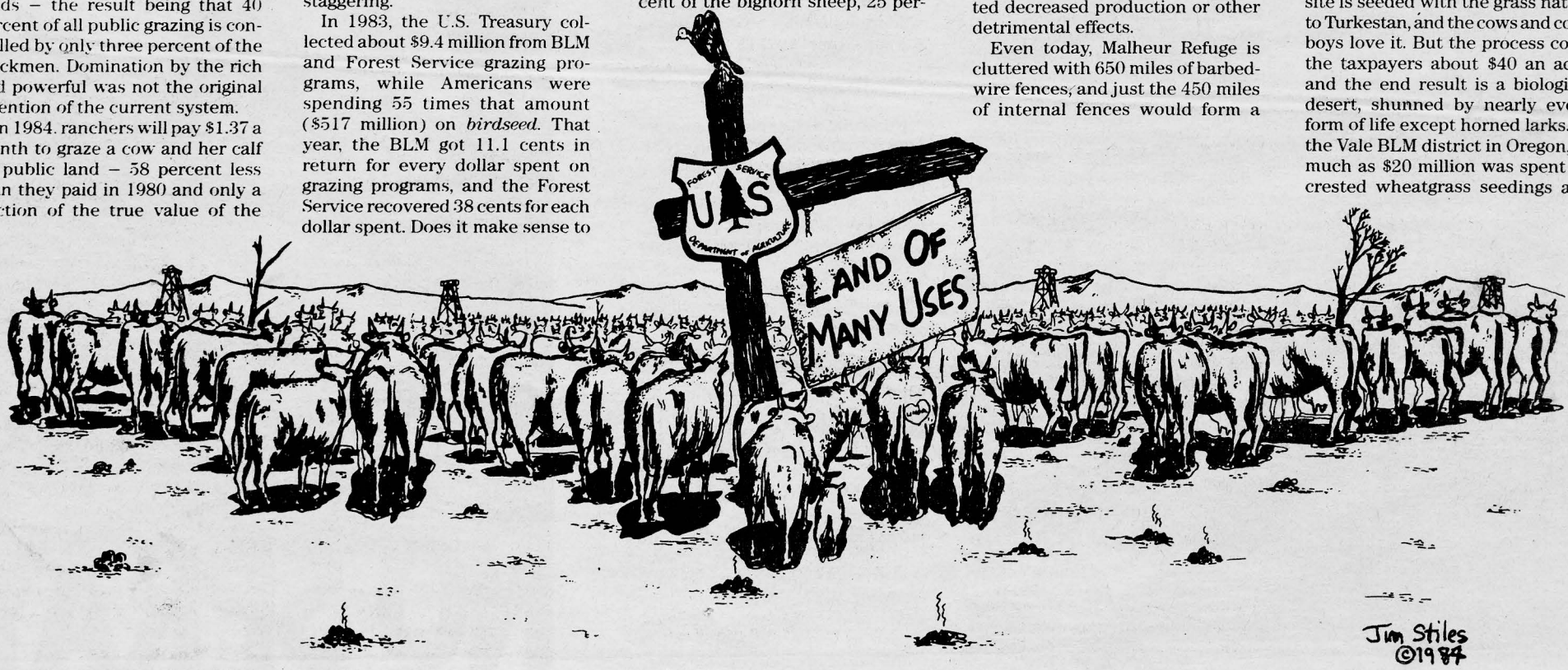
As grazing mounted, wildlife populations plummeted. Duck-nesting success dropped from 65 percent in 1940 to 24.7 percent in 1967. Mallard production, which peaked in 1944 at 50,000 ducklings per year, dwindled to only 2,000 in 1973. And total waterfowl production plunged from 151,000 ducklings and goslings in 1948 to a pitiful 13,300 in 1973. Malheur's population of 235 pairs of Sandhill cranes reared 68 young to flight stage in 1970, but only two in 1973, two in 1974, and 17 in 1975 – not enough to replenish adults lost to natural and accidental causes. By 1982, the refuge's crane population had dropped to 214 pairs.

The tragedy at Malheur was primarily caused by cattle eating and trampling residual vegetation, plants left standing from the preceding growing season – plants required as nesting cover for early nesters. The devastation at Malheur in the mid-1970's prompted Earl Sandvig, a retired forester and range manager, to remark, "Malheur is no longer a waterfowl refuge, it is a badly over-used cow pasture." And the reputation of grazing as a wildlife management tool was dealt a severe blow in 1978 when a committee for the Wilson Ornithological Society noted that of 56 scientific papers dealing with effects of grazing on waterfowl, all but one reported decreased production or other detrimental effects.

Even today, Malheur Refuge is cluttered with 650 miles of barbed-wire fences, and just the 450 miles of internal fences would form a single strand from Denver to New York City. Wildlife losses through fence entanglement or collisions are unacceptably high. Other national wildlife refuges, including Sheldon, Charles M. Russell, Kofa, and Hart Mountain (to mention a few), suffer severe damage from overgrazing by domestic livestock.

Acquiescing to demands of stockmen, in one 34-year period, American taxpayers paid federal predator exterminators to kill 2.8 million coyotes, 477,000 bobcats and lynx, 51,000 wolves, 24,000 bears, and 7,000 mountain lions. These are verified body counts and do not include the myriad animals killed in wholesale poisoning campaigns with 1080, strychnine, and other toxins. Shamefully, at the end of the 34 years, several of the species had to be put on the list of rare and endangered animals. Also, how many taxpayers have ever seen a wolf or mountain lion in the wild? Many other atrocities are committed in the name of the sacred cow, including massive projects to kill grasshoppers, rodent poisoning programs, rabbit exterminating campaigns, slaughter of feral horses, destruction of pinyon pine and juniper stands, and similar forms of ecological mayhem.

Throughout the West, native vegetation has been overgrazed, and major species, such as the original bunchgrasses, have largely been eaten and trampled out of existence. Today, alien invaders, including cheatgrass, Russian thistle, various mustards, halogeton, and a host of others, dominate thousands of square miles of public land. In some of these livestock-created slums, such as the Central Valley of California, the change has been so complete that it is impossible to determine what plants were originally present. Elsewhere, overgrazing has permitted sagebrush, creosote, mesquite, and other shrubs to occupy sites formerly supporting grasses and forbs. Faced with vast acreages dominated by unpalatable shrubs, the BLM has launched a feverish campaign to convert such lands into crested wheatgrass seedings. The shrubs are killed with an herbicide, the site is seeded with the grass native to Turkestan, and the cows and cowboys love it. But the process costs the taxpayers about $40 an acre, and the end result is a biological desert, shunned by nearly every form of life except horned larks. In the Vale BLM district in Oregon, as much as $20 million was spent on crested wheatgrass seedings and



Malheur National Wildlife Refuge – an example of using cattle grazing as a wildlife management tool.

associated ranching paraphernalia in an 11-year period. Ranchers pay the customary $1.37 per AUM to graze seedings, and the public fails to recover the original investment not to mention a fair rate of interest on the principal.

Water is the Achilles' heel of the West, and it is in the watersheds and riparian zones where cattle have romped and created their most disastrous impacts. Thousands of formerly perennial streams no longer flow during the dry season. In Oregon when a segment of dry steambed was fenced on each side to exclude cows, water miraculously began flowing again within three years, and the entire riparian zone returned, lush and productive. Despite such lessons and the resulting hardships upon all others dependent upon water supplies, cattle continue to destroy western streams, which become wider, shallower, warmer, poorly oxygenated, populated with rough fish, and eventually, in too many cases, dry except during periods of intense runoff. BLM land, Forest Service land, or refuge land, it doesn't matter – throughout the arid West the story is the same.

Government agencies charged with administering public lands, while clearly violating the public trust, are skirting the law and disregarding the wishes of Congress. For example, the law specifies that wildlife conservation must be given highest priority on national wildlife refuges, and any other uses, whether recreational or commercial, are prohibited unless such uses are clearly compatible with the purposes for which the refuges were established. Obviously, the grazing fiasco at Malheur Refuge was in direct defiance of legal guidelines.

The BLM and Forest Service seem to define range management as "red meat production" and multiple use as "sharing a campground with a cow," but in so doing, violate explicit mandates of Congress. In passing the Public Rangelands Improvement Act and other legislation demanding that the principles of multiple use and sustained yield apply to public lands, Congress clearly intended that all renewable resources, amenities, uses, and values on public lands be given equal status. But given the traditional bias of administrative agencies toward cows and cowboys, a great deal of litigation may be required to bring management into conformance with congressional wishes.

Currently, bureaucrats are enthralled with various grazing systems, such as rest-rotation. Seeking a potential panacea to accumulated grazing woes, the bureaucrats are feverishly building barbed-wire fences and converting the public lands into ever smaller pastures and paddocks, imprisoning wildlife behind a maze of fences, sacrificing other options for using the land, and splurging huge sums of public dollars on an untested gamble. Even the most ardent supporters of grazing systems admit that such systems benefit only range plants and offer no relief for abused riparian zones.

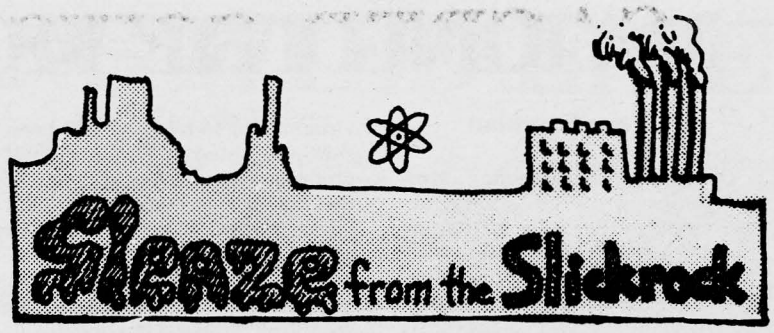
Meanwhile, other solutions are being proposed to cure rangeland ills. Some people are suggesting that ranchers be given longer tenure and a more secure place on public lands, the theory being that long-term security will foster personal pride, stewardship, and other benefits relating to private ownership. But the condition of private lands in the West and disenfranchisement of the general public argue against such naive idealism. Furthermore, the condition of public lands today attest to a tenure of ranchers that has been too secure for far too long.

Others urge that public forage be sold on the basis of competitive bid, which offers many advantages, including a fair return to the public for sale of forage, a reduction of overgrazing currently encouraged by too cheap forage, and retirement of marginal lands that could not be economically grazed if a fair price were charged for the available forage. But the big hurdle is selling competitive bidding to stockmen, who have grown accustomed to public subsidies and welfare ranching. Furthermore, competitive bidding would do away with the practice of selling public grazing permits with base properties – currently a lucrative boondoggle.

Today, acid rain threatens to devastate major forests and wild lands throughout much of the northern hemisphere, tropical forests are being destroyed at a reckless rate, and desertification is gobbling up vast acreages on several continents. Public lands in the United States are mounting in value as other nations fail to protect and retain similar lands. Because we are wealthy, we can afford the luxury (necessity?) of protecting our public lands. The value of nearly every use and resource on the public lands exceeds the pittance derived from current grazing fees. Furthermore, Americans are plagued with cholesterol-clogged blood vessels and the by-pass operation has become the most common form of surgery. Obviously, we don't need the measly three percent of beef produced on public lands. We wouldn't even miss it.

Any examination of the cost-benefits of grazing domestic livestock on public lands can only reveal the stupidity of it all. The obvious solution to rangeland problems is to cease grazing domestic livestock on public lands, rebuild our native populations of large herbivores and predators, and for the first time enjoy the benefits of healthy watersheds, productive riparian zones, improving rangeland vegetation, and all the rest. Anyone who truly believes in the phrase "Earth First!" could not possibly argue otherwise.

Denzel and Nancy Ferguson are the former managers of the Malheur Field Station at Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in southeastern Oregon. Denzel has a Ph.D. in zoology and Nancy is a freelance writer and photographer. This article is a summary of their powerful and revealing book Sacred Cows at the Public Trough *available for $8.95 from Maverick Publications, Drawer 5007, Bend, OR 97708. Every grazing activist should have a copy.*



by The Head of Joaquin

It is me again, amigos. I have been on a lonely but ultimately revealing vigil these last several months which explains my absence from this pitiful excuse for a literary journal. You see, in 1964 my cousin, Lonnie Zamora, saw a UFO fly over the highway near Socorro, New Mexico. Lonnie (who was a deputy sheriff) decided to investigate. As he approached the craft, two little sawed-off critters jumped inside the thing and roared off.

Lonnie thoroughly wet his pants and has not been the same since. But under hypnosis he recalled a symbol on the side of the spaceship. It looked like this:

I know what you're saying, you dim-witted bimbos, "So what?" Right? What does this have to do with saving the environment (or as you wimpy things out there would say, "our Earth Mother" – christ)? Well, as the situation keeps getting worse, and Reagan's re-election prospects grow, and I hear the latest nightmares from Escalante, Davis Canyon and Blanding, I keep thinking, "I've *got* to get *out* of here."

That dream-wrecker John Seed has destroyed any illusions I might have had about Australia, and I thought, what's left?

The symbol; of course! I found a high promontory near Rainbow Ridge, and with the help of my friend Brace Beamer (your announcer Fred Foy) we reconstructed the symbol with giant river stones. It measured 300 meters at its widest point. It was magnificent. My friends departed and I waited.

And I waited. And waited. Finally, on the 13th evening, a brilliant light appeared to the north. It grew larger and larger. It flooded the promontory, the symbol and me in its luminescence. It was The Ship. It hovered momentarily, then settled lightly on the ground, carefully avoiding the scattered sagebrush and cactus. A side panel began to open and what I saw next I will never forget.

It was Chim Blea and Nagasaki Johnson. I couldn't believe it.

"You ... you're ... Aliens," I stammered.

"That is correct," Chim Blea said in a flat, mechanical monotone voice. She had a beard and a bible under her arm. I found that very strange.

What happened next, I do not recall. When I was awakened, I was perched in my usual place at the Westerner Grill, and I was soaked from head to ... uh ... neck. Whether it means that extraterrestrials have infiltrated our movement, I do not know. But at least I have told you.

And now, back to reality, which is a painful step to take. A major crisis is developing down here in southern Utah. I have mentioned in this column before that certain greedheads and politicians want to realign, improve and pave the Burr Trail, a magnificent, unobtrusive dirt road that winds its way from Boulder, Utah, to Bullfrog Marina on the shores of the Foulest of Lakes. It is not a jeep road. Anyone, with any kind of car, can explore its entire length if they are willing to endure a few bumps and eat a little dust. But, of course, because most humans do not want to be inconvenienced and annoyed by such unpleasantries, the road is fairly quiet.

The project was shot down last year, thanks to the many letters sent to Rep. Sydney Yates of the House Appropriations Committee. As chairman, he stopped the bill. But now the proposal has a new head of steam, backed by the entire Utah Congressional delegation and worst of all supported by Governor Scott Matheson – a Democrat, who may be able to put leverage on his fellow Democrat Yates to reverse himself.

My friends. This cannot happen. This is terrible. It is the last blank spot on the map of southern Utah. It is the only place left that allows you to escape 1984 and go back in time as far as you wish. There are no gas stations, no "designated viewpoints," no highway signs. For god's sake, can't the bastards leave anything alone? It won't be long until we'll have nothing but memories to comfort us, and bittersweet memories they will be.

You can write to Rep. Yates (House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515), and Governor Matheson and those bullet headed morons that pass as our Utah Congressmen. For what good it will do. You may be called upon to do more.

One of the persons whom I count on to do more is that maniac named Robert Weed, one of the leaders of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance (SUWA). He has been mentioned here before. Working out of Escalante, Utah, perhaps the most vicious, intolerant community I have ever visited, Robert has felt the results of taking an unpopular stand. Besides actively opposing the Burr Trail project, he and his associate, Clive Kincaid, shut down the local sawmill when they obtained a court injunction to halt the clear-cutting of the last virgin stand of timber on Boulder Mountain.

As a result, Weed and Kincaid were hung in effigy by Escalante locals. In addition, Weed's house was vandalized, his well salted, and his driveway spiked.

Just think, for 40 years we have always thought the Nazi war criminals escaped to South America. Now it turns out they're residing right in our backyard. In Escalante, Utah.

Sieg heil, you bastards.

MAKING THE MOST OF PROFESSIONALISM

by Dave Foreman

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the environmental movement in 1984 is the increasing number of full-time, paid staff members of conservation groups. Professional staff has contributed greatly to the successes of the cause and they are a vital force in the battles ahead. Nonetheless, a number of problems can be attributed to this increasing professionalism – chief among them being the concentration of strategic and tactical decision-making in a small elite, and an emphasis on pragmatic politics instead of ethical fundamentals. While the number of professional staff in the environmental movement is unique to this day, the problems are not.

As Stephen Fox points out in his *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*, the history of the modern conservation movement (from the late 1890's on) can be told as the struggle between bureaucratic professionals and "radical amateurs" (enthusiastic volunteers who saw a problem and worked on it without pay).

It was Gifford Pinchot (the first director of United States Forest Service) who encouraged professionalism and who took the environmental movement away from radical amateur John Muir early in this century. But even Pinchot would be shocked to see how his idea of professionalism has grown. In the Forest Service, the leathery-faced ranger on horseback has been replaced by the computer technician in an air-conditioned, windowless office. The symbol of the Forest Service is no longer overalled Smokey the Bear, but the Orwellian FORPLAN computer. In the citizen groups, professional resource managers promoted by the gun manufacturers took over after World War I: passionate outdoorsman Will Dilg was deposed as head of the largest conservation group of that time, the Izaak Walton League; William T. Hornaday was forced out of the Bronx Zoo; and the National Audubon Society was neutered. One of the great chapters of conservation, little-told today, is the valiant struggle of Rosalie Edge to reform the Audubon Society and return it to heartfelt action.

It is possible to combine the best of the radical amateur and the professional conservationist. From the 30's, to the 60's, Bob Marshall, Aldo Leopold, Olaus & Mardie Murie, Howard Zahniser, Sigurd Olsen, Rachel Carson and David Brower exemplified this and got the environmental movement back on track. Since the Sierra Club's firing of David Brower, however, the environmental movement has been slowly co-opted by the concept of professionalism to the detriment of the vision, activism, ethics and effectiveness of the cause. I see numerous examples of this:

• Many of the people who work for environmental groups today are not conservationists but rather political operatives or technicians. As in any other business, government or citizen organization, the technicians, accountants, lawyers, public relations experts and political pros have taken over from the idealists. Where are the great conservationists today leading the movement? Where is a Muir, Leopold, Marshall, Murie, Carson or Zahniser at the helm? What have we done with their living heirs? David Brower? Celia Hunter? Clif Merritt?

• Ten years ago, the route to a job with an environmental group was by proving oneself first as a volunteer activist. Academic training and professional experience were worthwhile but were not the critical considerations. The key was to be a hardworking and effective conservationist. Today, that is reversed. It is the relevant degree that is important. Political operatives, not conservationists, are sought for jobs with environmental groups. It is more important, it seems, to understand the technical process of government rather than the heart and soul of the land.

• Conservation groups look for potential employees who will fit smoothly into the cubbyholes of their particular organization. The businessman who replaced Celia Hunter at the Wilderness Society replaced virtually the entire experienced and effective grassroots staff of that organization with "professionals." Recently, the most effective, experienced and knowledgeable conservationist in a certain western state was passed over for that Sierra Club regional rep position because he did not "meet the organizational fit." The scuttlebutt was that when a certain regional rep left the Sierra Club a few years ago (probably the most distinguished, respected – and militant – individual on the entire staff), his supervisors were relieved because he had been able to operate too independently.

• Fewer and fewer staff members of conservation groups are outdoorsperson. Many seem more comfortable on the sidewalks of Washington, DC, or San Francisco than on the high ridges of the Cascades, Sierras, Rockies or Appalachians; more at home in a fern bar than beside the campfire. This is true also of the boards of directors. Read the dusty pages of the old *Living Wilderness*. The Wilderness Society Council of bygone days always met in a rustic setting next to a wilderness and made a trip into the big outside afterward. Not today. Some professional conservationists today once were frequenters of the rocky trail but have drifted away from the call of the hills to that of Capitol Hill. Others are merely YUPS who could just as easily be working for any liberal, progressive political outfit. There are top staff people who are highly knowledgeable about the lore of conservation, but they are armchair conservationists, preferring to encounter the griz in glossy photographs on their coffee tables. A handful of staffers are exceptions, of course, but too few would agree with Leopold that, "There are some who can live without wild things, and some who cannot. These ... are the delights and dilemmas of one who cannot."

• Staff members of conservation groups today often are career-oriented, not conservation-oriented. Too many see their job with a conservation group as being a stepping stone to one with a prominent politician or to a high position in the administration. Too many take care not to ruffle feathers in order to preserve their opportunity to be considered later for director of the National Park Service or Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. High salaries are commonplace. The heads of some groups pull down $100,000 a year. It is argued that to effectively compete in the high-priced job market of DC lobbying that high salaries must be offered.

• Many people working for environmental groups today have a higher loyalty to the political process than to conservation. They work for conservation groups not because of an overwhelming love of wild nature but because they passionately enjoy the glamor, excitement and prestige of the Potomac. It is a roll-call vote in the House that mesmerizes them, not goose music. There are strong personal loyalties to particular political figures, loyalties which often override commitment to protection of wilderness or to enhancement of environmental quality. Certain politicians are placed on a pedestal and are not excessively lobbied or criticized.

• The viability of the group itself has become more important than the conservation mission of the group. The primary goal is the organizational maintenance of the group. Even Greenpeace is not immune. There is grumbling in that idealistic organization as spontaneity, militancy and flexibility have been sacrificed by a new strata of bureaucrats in order to gain "credibility" in the halls of power. As organizational maintenance becomes the primary goal of a group, it begins to compete with allied groups for recognition, money and status. Instead of trying to win a battle, the group merely wants to get credit for it. Wilderness Society and Sierra Club staff receive specific directions to beat each other in the media race, to get more quotes than their counterpart in the other group. In one case, a highly-qualified individual was rejected for a regional rep position with one group because of his friendship and excellent working relationship with the regional rep of the competing group. Honchos of one group have expressed concern over the growing Audubon Society presence in Washington, DC. Instead of welcoming the numerous Audubon lobbyists as needed reinforcements in the fray, there is worry about the difficulty of competing for the column inches against the richer organization.

• Once the national boards of environmental groups were made up of the leading conservationists in the country. Today, candidates for the Sierra Club Board of Directors speak of their commitment to smooth business operations. Their election statements downplay any green fire burning in their eyes. The Council of The Wilderness Society seems largely composed of people with connections to money.

• Professional conservationists are generally unfamiliar with the great intellectual discussions going on in the movement. How many understand, or have even heard about, Deep Ecology? How many read the seminal books or articles of the conservation cause? I fear there is a near-total gulf between the political technicians and the thinkers, philosophers and visionaries.

• Finally, there is a growing breach between volunteer grassroots activists and the professionals. A technical elite has formed which elevates itself above the grassroots. This professional cadre talks to itself and is both defensive and arrogant in its dealings with the conservation masses. It actively functions to inhibit dissent or even public discussion of strategy and priorities.

* * *

The above examples are admittedly general. There are certainly exceptions. While I have concentrated on The Wilderness Society and Sierra Club (because I know them best), the phenomenon is movement-wide – even state groups are feeling the pressure to become more professional. The current power struggle within Friends of the Earth has all the hallmarks of a confrontation between the radical amateurs and the resource professionals. There are a number of outstanding individuals working for both national and state conservation groups who are worthy heirs to the tradition of Marshall and Brower but they are caught in a "professional" tide within the sea of conservation.

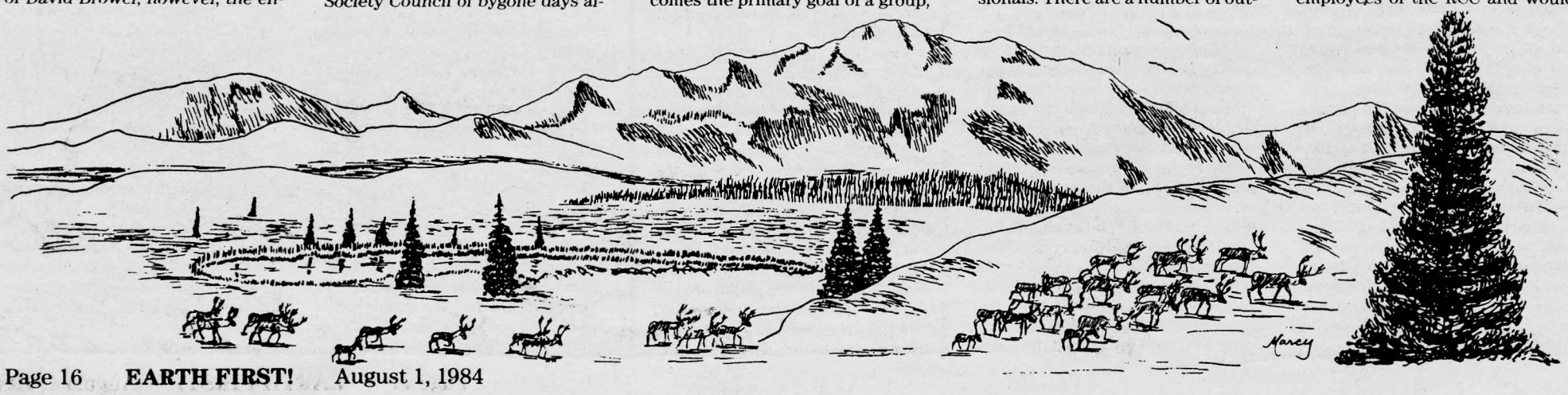
Professional conservationists are here to stay. Indeed, arguments can be well made for the need for more paid staff. Nonetheless, we must be willing to carefully study the inherent problems of professionalism and devise built-in safeguards against them. I do not want to rid the movement of paid staff, I want to see paid staff function as effectively as possible. Some easy steps that can be implemented almost immediately, with little cost, and with, I think, great effectiveness against the pitfalls of professionalism are outlined below:

1. All employees of conservation groups (including administrative and clerical) should be required to take two weeks of paid vacation a year *in the wilderness*. There should be no exceptions (including for Executive Directors). These should be real wilderness trips including at least one of a week in duration. It would be very simple, for example, to allow Sierra Club staff to go on national SC outings for free.

The argument will be immediately raised that conservation staffers are overworked and do not have time for wilderness vacations. This is hypocrisy. One of the major arguments given for wilderness areas in the modern era is as refuges for re-creation, for escape from the stress of unnatural urban civilization. If wilderness lobbyists say they don't need "the tonic of the wilderness," then they they do not believe in the cause they are promoting. On a personal note, I've found that I can accomplish more work in less time by frequently visiting wilderness areas and recharging my enthusiasm.

2. In addition to the above, at least one annual staff meeting should take place in a rustic setting (not a plush ski lodge) with at least an overnight wilderness excursion before or after. There should be joint meetings in such surroundings between the issues staffs of the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Friends of the Earth, Audubon Society, Defenders of Wildlife and state environmental groups.

3. Sierra Club regional representatives should not be hired or supervised by the national administration of the Club. Instead, grants should be made by the national club to each Regional Conservation Committee to hire and fund a conservation staff person(s). These regional reps and their assistants would be employees of the RCC and would



report to the RCC, although they would obviously work closely with the national conservation staff.

4. The Sierra Club National Board of Directors has become largely occupied with mundane business matters and has too little to do with conservation. This has left a vacuum, allowing a staff clique to monopolize strategy, priorities and implementation of conservation work. Perhaps the national SC BoD could be divided into two committees, one to deal with conservation, the other with administrative matters. But somehow the grassroots activists of the Club need a greater role in directing action and fundamental strategy.

5. Although there are some outstanding conservationists on The Wilderness Society Council (notable recent additions are Huey Johnson and Ernie Day), the Council is largely composed of people with money or access to money (not necessarily incompatible with being an ecofreak). While raising money is important, the Council needs to spend more time on conservation.

As with the Sierra Club Board of Directors, perhaps the TWS Council could be divided into two committees, one overseeing conservation and the other concentrating on raising money and business matters.

6. State wilderness groups in the West (Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, Washington Wilderness Coalition, Oregon Natural Resources Council, California Wilderness Coalition, Arizona Wilderness Coalition, Nevada Outdoor Recreation Association, Committee for Idaho's High Desert, Montana Wilderness Association, Wyoming Wilderness Association, Utah Wilderness Association, Colorado Open Spaces Council, New Mexico Wilderness Study Committee, for example) should form the Western Wilderness Coalition and hire a lobbyist to represent them in Washington, DC, so that they are not controlled by, or dependent on, the big national groups. The Board of Directors of the Western Wilderness Coalition could be made up of the heads of the individual groups and would directly supervise the DC lobbyist. Groups east of the Rockies should similarly organize.

7. The Sierra Club, TWS, FOE, Audubon and other groups should jointly set up a fund to disburse more than $200,000 a year in $10,000 grants to individual conservation activists. There should be no strings attached to such grants and the recipients should be free to work on whatever they wish. Since they would be experienced, capable, self-starting activists, there should be no need for supervision or administrative overhead.

8. A ceiling should be placed on salaries paid by conservation groups. No one (including Executive Directors) should earn more than $30,000 a year and most salaries should be kept below $20,000. This would eliminate most political technicians from applying for such jobs and would leave them in the hands of those who are personally committed to the preservation of natural diversity.

9 A primary requisite for employment by a conservation group should be experience as a volunteer grassroots activist. Full-time paid staff positions should be earned by an apprenticeship as a grassroots conservation activist.

10. Staff members of conservation groups should be required to be current on the ongoing philosophical discussions within the environmental movement. They should read the important books and articles. Conservation groups could buy bulk copies of the important works wholesale and distribute them to staff. Seminal magazine articles should be distributed as well. Reading should be required.

Again, there will be the objection that conservation staffers are overworked and do not have time to read. Medical professionals are also overworked but they have to find time to read professional material or they will fall behind in their profession. It is just as important for a conservation professional to be up-to-date.

11. Lobbyists for conservation groups in DC should be required to make at least four trips to the field annually. They should attend the important conferences and meet with grassroots leaders and visit key areas in the states where national issues will emerge. For example, lobbyists working on national forest wilderness should set foot in a few of the areas in each state.

The argument has been made that someone does not need to know a particular area to be able to fight effectively for it. My experience of eight years with The Wilderness Society clearly demonstrated to me that if I did not personally know an area I would not fight as hard for it as for one I knew, that I would compromise on the area I didn't know. This is simply human nature. A lobbyist may not go the extra mile required to save an area if he/she has never seen it, if the elk and sunsets and bear tracks do not exist for him/her, if it is merely a disembodied name in a list.

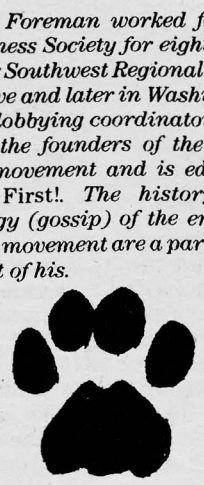
12. Staff members should be required to become personally involved in local conservation groups (i.e., Sierra Club staff in DC should be active in the Potomac Chapter) and be individually involved on at least one local issue.

13. The Sierra Club/Wilderness Society Biennial Wilderness Conference should be reborn. Controversial speakers should be invited. Serious discussion, strategizing, speculating and networking should take place between staff, volunteers and academics. Dissent should not be stifled but rather encouraged.

14. Grassroots conservationists need to develop a greater militancy, more aggressiveness to control the movement, a willingness to demand the replacement of professional staff who become aloof, co-opted or elitist, and to stand up for decentralized decision-making.

There are no doubt other measures that could be taken to maximize the effectiveness of professional staff members. Further discussion of this issue is welcomed in these pages.

Dave Foreman worked for The Wilderness Society for eight years as their Southwest Regional Representative and later in Washington, DC, as lobbying coordinator. He is one of the founders of the Earth First! movement and is editor of Earth First!. *The history and sociology (gossip) of the environmental movement are a particular interest of his.*



HUNTING WILD LIFE

by Christoph Manes

D.H. Lawrence was an excellent writer, but by his own admission an inept hunter. He needed several shots and a whack with a cedar pole to bring down his only kill – an overweight porcupine. The experienced fired his sensibilities, however, and resulted in an essay, "Reflexions on the Death of a Porcupine," which conjures the kind of relationship between man and the environment that a devitalized age like ours longs for, even if only unconsciously. Relationship – that's the key word. Lawrence found his first hunt tinged with a feeling of anxiety, not because he feared a lumbering porcupine, but because he was jarred from his comfortable notions about nature, forced into an authentic relationship with the animal. He experienced it as it was, not as an anthropomorphized creation of nursery rhymes. The encounter was as it should be: fifty percent porcupine, fifty percent man. And beneath this he sensed the overpowering vitality that disposes the universe into such unlikely forms as porcupines and English novelists having a go at ranching in New Mexico.

Lawrence is right: it is disturbing. Most hunters do not admit it – and perhaps habit has dampened the feeling – but the first hunt is inevitably accompanied by a feeling of anxiety (the exact word is difficult to find). I've felt it; experienced hunters I've talked with have felt it. I can't prove it, but since in most cases it isn't fear *of* the animal, it must be fear shared *with* the animal, along the lines of Lawrence's calculation, a passion in the drama of life's beginnings and endings that all things play a part in, hunter and hunted alike. The hunt confronts a man with the limitations of his own existence.

Which is good, by the way, even necessary. Technology has left very few things that remind us of who we are. Its whole impetus is to insulate us from the vitality of the world and reduce all our relationships to the imperative of production and consumption. Technological man is so wrapped up in himself he can't conceive of the sun, the forest, the deer, beyond the limited sphere of his own goals. This is the great power failure of modern times, devitalizing us all. But it is no good to deny it: all life feeds on the limitations of other living things, and is itself outstripped by its own limitations. The gentlest vegetarian devours whole societies, whole worlds of microscopic organisms with every cabbage leaf. It seems to be that the philosophical point of deep ecology is to reestablish a relationship with the environment that plunges us back into the hidden life of our being – which is a rude awakening for a culture left high and dry by technology's spiritual dikes and dams.

For all its bizarre theology the Middle Ages understood this predatory aspect of nature, and dealth with it. At that time hunting was a social event with rituals as elaborate as a church service or a courtly dance (the image of the solitary hunter stalking his prey in the dark woods is a product of 19th Century American culture). Dozens of participants, each with his assigned duty, were deployed over the landscape like living chess pieces. Complicated bugle calls from the master huntsman orchestrated their movements (these survived in the form of hunting songs). The dismemberment of the quarry – the "breaking," as it was called – has given rise to the most enervating passages in Medieval literature because of its complex method and terminology. What accounts for this kind of ceremony is clear. Ritual always involves the attempt to control. The Medieval consciousness acknowledges the powerful human need to comprehend the violence of nature, the chaos of death, by ordering an activity intimately associated with it – the hunt.

If there are contradictions in portraying hunting as the existential path to deep ecology, I readily admit them. But I return to the idea of relationship: *how* you are related to the environment will determine the ecological merit of your actions.

A Pleistocene hunter might stampede a hundred horses over a cliff – a waste by our standards. But there is no waste in nature, and the Pleistocene hunter was part of nature. That day the vultures simply had more to eat. In *The Question Concerning Technology* Martin Heidegger gives the example of an employee of the timber industry inspecting a stand in the Black Forest. He may be engaged in a similar occupation as his grandfather: he may even be walking on the very path his grandfather used. But *how* he's there differs radically. The grandfather walked as a man in diverse relationship to the life around him; the sylviculturist is there at the instigation of the wood-products industry, which grinds the trees into pulp for magazines and newspaper that go on to propagate the idea that the forest should be managed by sylviculturists. All other relations besides consuming cellulose are shunted aside.

And this is the real danger. When a Viking gazed at the ocean he saw the dwelling place of the Midgard Serpent that would rise from its sleep at the twilight of the gods and shake the foundations of the world. We see a convenient dump for sewage and toxic wastes, a place to surf on weekends. Precisely this debased outlook leads to the kind of hunter who, decked out with the most advanced equipment and out to kill anything, anyway, is simply a creature of the recreation industry, which in order to sell its wares haggles away the wilderness as a mere amusement park for human enjoyment. It seems obvious to me that a hunter who acknowledges a diverse relationship with the vitality of nature will need no instruction on the ethics of hunting. He will realize that the habitat where he hunts is there for its own sake, not for his ends. He will respect the animal he hunts as an expression of the same life force that animates him. He will avoid harming endangered species because you can't be in a relationship with an extinct animal. He will follow the imperative of the wolf and the cougar, not the local sporting goods store, and hunt out of an instinct in his blood, not a whipped up desire to destroy.

Lawrence was right: our age is losing vitality. The men who hunt wildlife must learn also to hunt wild life, that ecstatic relationship between man and nature that brings energy and meaning to our humblest pursuits.

INFRASTRUCTURE

or, Why Work Your Posterior Off?

Rick Davis

The United States, we're told, is facing an infrastructure crisis. The roads, bridges, schools and all the other public facilities that support our industrial society are falling apart, and not a few concerned people are calling for their repair, offering all sorts of ideas, like putting the legions of unemployed to work on them.

Now, it is important for us to realize that the infrastructure is built and maintained at terrific expense; anyone who pays taxes is well aware of this. Yet, despite all the money being spent to maintain the system, it is still falling apart. And with the government billions of dollars in the hole, it is absurd to believe that we can spend more money to make the necessary repairs – or that the government will get out of debt, for that matter.

Not only that, although we've got too many roads, bridges, dams, and whatnot already, the machine is trying to build still more, destroying what's left of our beautiful land.

But what most people don't realize is that *infrastructure doesn't stop there.* Every institution we create, every gadget we make – all the things that support our lifestyle – these all make up our infrastructure. And they must all be maintained at our expense.

Appliances must be cleaned and repaired. Monoculture lawns must be watered, fertilized, weeded and mowed. Carpets must be vacuumed and shampooed. Fancy clothes must be taken to the cleaners. The expense of purchasing and maintaining houses and cars is staggering. And there's no way getting around it – this all means work.

Friends, it's time we decided how much of this work is really worth it. Would you rather be doing lawn work or hiking in the woods? Would you rather be vacuuming the carpet or out among the wildflowers, watching the bees make honey for you? Would you rather be working at some stultifying factory job (to make the money to buy and repair the stereo and television) or dangling your bare feet in the mountain stream? The former choices require much labor of us; the latter facilities are provided free of charge by Mother Nature.

The budget for fiscal 1985 is $687 billion, and sixty-three percent of it pays for missiles and bombs. Why work your tu-tu off to pay taxes for that?

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. Become idle. Sprinkle some wildflower seeds on the lawn and then let Nature take it from there. Clean the carpet only when fungus starts growing.

2. Lobby in Congress for at least one hundred new national holidays. Begin with birthdays of Muir, Leopold, Spinoza and other greats, then go for all remaining Mondays and Fridays.

3. Help show others the way to idleness. Take a nap under a tree and let Mother Nature do all the work.

THE BOOKS OF DEEP ECOLOGY

by Bill Devall and George Sessions

Ed. note: We've often asked Bill Devall and George Sessions for a list of the most important books on Deep Ecology. They've recently replied with this annotated bibliography. It will also be published in their book, Deep Ecology, *forthcoming from Peregrine Smith, Inc., in October. Bill Devall is a professor at Humboldt State College, Arcata, California, and a frequent contributor to* Earth First!. *George Sessions is a professor at Sierra College in Rocklin, California. He recently contributed (with Arne Naess) an article on the Basic Principles of Deep Ecology to* Earth First!

Morris Berman,
The Reenchantment of The World
Ithaca: Cornell, 1981.

A study of the emergence of our modern scientific consciousness and a challenge to its supremacy. Berman traces the rise of science as philosophy and political ideology. In his chapter on Isaac Newton he shows Newton to be a transitional figure, part in the world of the participatory science of the middle ages, part mechanist.

The concluding sections of the book are devoted to "tomorrow's metaphysics" and the "politics of consciousness." Berman sees Gregory Bateson's epistemology as a possible alternative to mechanism. The subject object merger, found in ecology, has some pitfalls, according to Berman, but is the most important vision for postmodern society.

Charles Birch and John B. Cobb,
The Liberation of Life: From the Cell to the Community
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

This is a work of extraordinary breadth. The authors are interested in nothing less than the liberation of life in both theory and practice: theory because the authors are concerned with invigorating the ways in which we think about life from the molecular to the cosmic level; and practice because they urgently are concerned with the liberation of social structure and human behavior that would flow from and encourage such a changed way of thinking.

They maintain a graded hierarchy of value, however, and base their position on Alfred North Whitehead's process philosophy.

Murray Bookchin,
The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy
Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982.

The most extensive statement by this seminal thinker on communalism and hierarchy. He contrasts the outlook of organic society with that of mechanical societies. "The great project of our time," he writes, "must be to open the other eye; to see all-sidely and wholly, to heal and transcend the cleavage between humanity and nature that came with early wisdom." Bookchin's sytle of writing is sometimes turgid, but his analysis of communal traditions in the West show some cultural roots to which we can turn for cultural forms necessary for bioregional living.

Fritjof Capra,
The Turning Point: Science, Society and the Rising Culture
New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Capra is a physicist who challenged conventional wisdom in *The Tao of Physics* by demonstrating the striking parallels between ancient mystical traditions and the discoveries of twentieth century physics. In *The Turning Point*, he shows how the revolution in modern physics foreshadows an imminent revolution in all the sciences and a transformation of our worldview and values.

Rachel Carson,
The Sea Around Us
New York: New American Library, 1961

The oceans are among the most human-threatened areas of the planet. Rachel Carson's scientifically accurate and poetic book on ocean ecosystems and the human connection to them was first published in 1951, over a decade before her more famous book, *Silent Spring*.

This book shows a woman naturalist's deep ecology intuition.

William R. Catton, Jr.,
Overshoot: The Ecological Basis of Revolutionary Change
Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980

The only book on this list by a sociologist. Although not a deep ecologist, Catton presents one of the clearest expositions in print of the meaning of "carrying capacity" as applied to human populations. Catton recounts the fate of other species and population groups in circumstances which parallel our present crisis. His last chapter, "Facing the Future Wisely" presents no ecotopian vision but shows some policy changes which are necessary to deal with catastrophe.

Michael Cohen,
The Pathless Way
Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984

The definitive study of John Muir as deep ecologist. Cohen's chapters on Muir's enlightenment and Muir's "stormy sermons" bring to life the founder of the American conservation/ecology movement.

Stanley Diamond,
In Search of the Primitive: A Critique of Civlization
New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1974

Diamond demystifies civilization and explicates *being* in primitive society thus writing a prolegomena for a Marxist ethnology and an existential anthropology. The first chapter on "Civilization and Progress" is a fundamental critique of the dominant mode of thinking in modern societies.

David Ehrenfeld,
The Arrogance of Humanism
New York: Oxford, 1978

Humanism is the "religion of humanity," a supreme belief in our ability to rearrange the world of Nature and engineer our own future any way we see fit. Ehrenfeld, an ecologist, dissects the false assumptions of humanism and the reality of the dangerous actions of the technocrats. He calls for a union of emotion and reason and in his concluding chapter, "Beyond Humanism," makes tentative suggestions for "enduring somehow the unavoidable sadness."

Paul and Anne Ehrlich,
Extinction: The Causes and Consequences of the Disappearance of Species
New York: Ballantine, 1981

Paul Ehrlich is an ecologist and co-author of a major textbook on *Ecoscience*. In this book, he describes the interplay of plants, animals, and lower organisms and dramatically illustrates the catastrophic consequences of humanity's interference in natural processes. The social and economic causes of the rising species extinction rate are addressed and the concluding chapters discuss strategies of conservation.

Stephen Fox,
John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement
Boston: Little, Brown, 1981

The first part of this book is a biography of Muir in which Fox utilizes previously unavailable material to show Muir's deep ecology insights. Fox then chronicles the development of the major conservation groups highlighting the careers of the "radical amateurs" who repeatedly revitalized the movement. His last chapter on "Lord Man: The Religion of Conservation," illustrates the continuing tensions between Christians and ecologists.

Elizabeth Dodson Gray,
Green Paradise Lost
Wellesley, Mass: Roundtable Press, 1982

Gray is a feminist, Christian theologian and a person who understands ecology. She provides an excellent explication of the impact of patriarchal society and the domination of nature.

She calls for biocentric equality and a deep ecology.

J. Donald Hughes,
American Indian Ecology
El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1983

Hughes' essay demonstrates the reverence for the land and animals of Native Americans and the kind of social structure which kept Native American societies in harmony with the rest of nature. Hughes implies that the cosmology of Native Americans has no racial or temporal bounds but beckons to us today and provides us with inspiration and ideas for a post-modern cosmology of the "future primal mind."

Dolores LaChapelle,
Earth Wisdom
Silverton, Colorado: Way of the Mountain Center (First published by Guild of Tudor Press, 1978)

LaChapelle is a climber, skier, student of Tai Chi, scholar and deep ecologist. *Earth Wisdom*, she says, is a beginning step toward restoring the lost communication with the earth that primal peoples knew for a millenia. Part I includes particular experiences in the author's life which crystallized her feelings toward the earth and led to an intuitive understanding of the relationship of mountains and mind in the beginnings of modern religions. Part II investigates the nature and boundaries of mind in relation to Nature as a whole. Part III delineates the practical results of healing the split between human consciousness and Nature. Part IV provides immediate help for those who live as Nature intended us to live.

Aldo Leopold,
Sand County Almanac
New York: Oxford, 1968

This classic, first published in 1949, includes Leopold's essays on his own experiences in wilderness and the importance of land health and ecological diversity. Essays include poetic recounts of his experiences in the American southwest, Mexico, and the sand counties of Wisconsin. In the foreword he wrote, "There are some who can live without wild things, and some who cannot. These essays are the delights and dilemmas of one who cannot."

This book is required reading on the development of a biocentric "land ethic."

George Tyler Miller,
Living in the Environment
Third Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1983

This is written as a textbook with chapters on human population, dynamics, resources, pollution, human impact on the earth, major concepts of ecology and economics. The concluding section, on ethics, includes a discussion of "earthmanship" and deep ecology, but Miller calls for a "balanced approach of resource use and preservation based on wise stewardship."

Roderick Nash,
Wilderness and the American Mind
Third Edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

This is the most thorough review of changing perceptions and understandings of ecological diversity and wilderness in the context of the European invasion of North America. This edition includes chapters on the philosophy of wilderness, the irony of victory in official wilderness designation and the international perspective. Nash does not articulate deep ecology in his chapter on philosophy, but it is there in the chapters on Muir, Thoreau and Leopold.

Theodore Roszak,
Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society
Garden City, New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1979

Roszak asserts that "the needs of the person are the needs of the planet." He links the realization of personhood and saving ecological diversity to the liberation from the large scale bureaucracies which dominate our lives. He offers practical advice for home, school, work, religion, and farming. He especially addresses the responsibility of intellectuals and the politics of transformation of large scale cities into economies of permanence.

Theodore Roszak,
Where the Wasteland Ends: Politics and Transcendence in Postindustrial Society
Garden City, New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1973

Probably the most interesting book on the "single vision" of modern science and the uses and abuses of technology. Roszak's critique of the "citadel of expertise" is mandatory reading for those entering the professions of engineering, etc. He concludes with chapters on the "rhapsodic intellect" – resonance and literalism in modern intellectual circles – and "the visionary commonwealth" – suggestions for ecotopia.

Paul Shepard,
Nature and Madness
San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1982

Shepard suggests we have overlooked something important in our analysis of the continuing crisis of the environment – the development of the human person. Utilizing a diverse body of literature and dealing with broad historical time frames, Shepard links the process of human development as genetically programmed with the changes in western culture during the last ten thousand years. He reads the human development literature to mean that each human must go through a certain sequence of phases during the life cycle. Some cultures facilitate this process, some do not. Contemporary western cultures leave most people stuck in early adolescence all their lives – a phase marked by intense emotion, "masculine" rather than "feminine" orientation and rapid alterations between regressive infantile behavior and bold, aggressive behavior that is pseudo-mature. Many environmental problems can be solved if we let people proceed through their natural ontogeny into adulthood and maturity.

Paul Shepard,
The Tender Carnivore and The Sacred Game
New York: Scribners, 1973

Shepard discusses the gatherer/hunter traditions and the "ten thousand year environmental crisis. " His provocative essay on ritual and the "karma of adolescence" foreshadows his more theoretical treatment in *Nature and Madness*.

In the concluding section Shepard proposes a "cynergetic society" as his ecotopian vision.

Gary Snyder,
Turtle Island
New York: New Directions, 1974

Winner of the Pulitzer Prize for poetry, Snyder in this collection of poems and essays says Turtle Island is "the old/new name for the continent, based on many creation myths of the people who have been here for millennia, and reapplied by some of them to 'North America' in recent years." A tentative cross-fertilization of ecological thought with Buddhist ideas is suggested. The book concludes with Snyder's deep ecological manifesto written in 1969, "Four 'Changes'."

Gary Snyder,
The Old Ways
San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1977

Dedicated to the memory of Alan Watts, this slim volumn contains six essays including Snyder's statement on bioregional re-inhabitation and "the incredible survival of coyote."

DEAR NED LUDD

DEAR NED LUDD is a regular feature in *Earth First!* for discussion of creative means of effective defense against the forces of industrial totalitarianism. Neither the Earth First! movement nor the staff of *Earth First!* necessarily encourage anyone to do any of the things discussed in DEAR NED LUDD.

POLITICAL FUN & GAMES

During the presidential campaign of 1972, one of Richard Nixon's henchmen named Donald Segretti perfected the art of political dirty tricks against a variety of Democrats, including Ed Muskie and Hubert Humphrey. There is no reason why the ecoguerilla should not adopt some of these techniques against anti-environmental candidates for any political office.

One way to give the candidate a bad name is to offer a free campaign party in his name. Cut words out of magazines or newspapers, fill in the small print with a rented or borrowed IBM typewriter, and layout on a sheet of paper: FREE – ALL YOU CAN EAT; FREE BEER & CHAMPAGNE; PRIZES; MUSIC; BRING THE KIDS; etc.; Hosted by (the candidate) on (dates/times in large lettering), at place (see below) Embellish with cut-out graphics of the Statue of Liberty, American flag, fireworks, or whatever is appropriate for your candidate. Make it look official. The location of your campaign shindig should be selected with care. If the candidate has a large, busy campaign headquarters, make it there during business hours to disrupt their operation. If a $100-a-plate dinner is planned for the candidate, why not add some unexpected, non-paying guests?

Take your lay-out to a copy shop and have several hundred or more high quality copies printed. This is best done at another city in a busy shop where they may not even give a second look at you or your product. Many copy shops now have high quality self-service machines where the risk of being noticed will be minimal.

The most time-consuming task of the operation will be posting all of the flyers on community bulletin boards, telephone poles, telephone booths, etc. Saturate the area. You might hire kids to do it, pay in advance, and disappear. If nothing else, you will generate some very bad publicity for the candidate.

Another scheme to disrupt the campaign of a worthless candidate focuses on tying up their telephones at critical moments, such as during election day get-out-the-vote efforts. If you infiltrate the campaign as a volunteer, you may learn of other important functions during which telephone lines should be kept busy, such as during major telephone fundraising events.

For this job, print another flyer, this time offering something for free that is desirable to most people but also within the realm of believability, for example $5 cash. Offer the item absolutely free, "no strings attached," in response to a telephone call as part of a "nationwide marketing test." Use plenty of graphics, $ signs to catch attention, and prominently feature the date(s) on which calls must be made. Then list all of the telephone numbers of the campaign. If there are many numbers, divide them up according to the first letter of the caller's last name, so that all lines will be jammed. This should keep those telephone-answerers busy!

With a little creativity, two targets can be harassed at no additional cost with this technique. Instead of offering $5 free cash, offer a free dinner for four at your local rainforest destroying fast-food chain (use their logo and advertising liberally on your flyer). Or state that the free item is offered by a local business or corporation that is a heavy contributor to environmental rapist PACs.

Gary Snyder,
The Real Work: Interviews and Talks: 1964-1979
New York: New Directions, 1980

A collection of talks and interviews dealing with most of the major topics of deep ecology including the problem of ego in modern societies, bioregionalism, right livelihood, communities, the influence of Native American religion and Buddhism on Snyder's work and his emerging ecological consciousness and the 'real work' of working on our selves.

Donald Worster,
Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology
San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1977

Worster traces the origin of the metaphor of ecology as "nature's economy," discusses the thinkers who have shaped ecology as a science and how it in turn has shaped the modern perception of our place in the scheme of things. Beginning with the English parson, Gilbert White, he includes chapters on Darwin, Thoreau, Frederic Clements, Aldo Leopold and Eugene Odum. Worster concludes with a chapter on the relation between ecology as science and ecophilosophy.

Dear Ned Ludd:

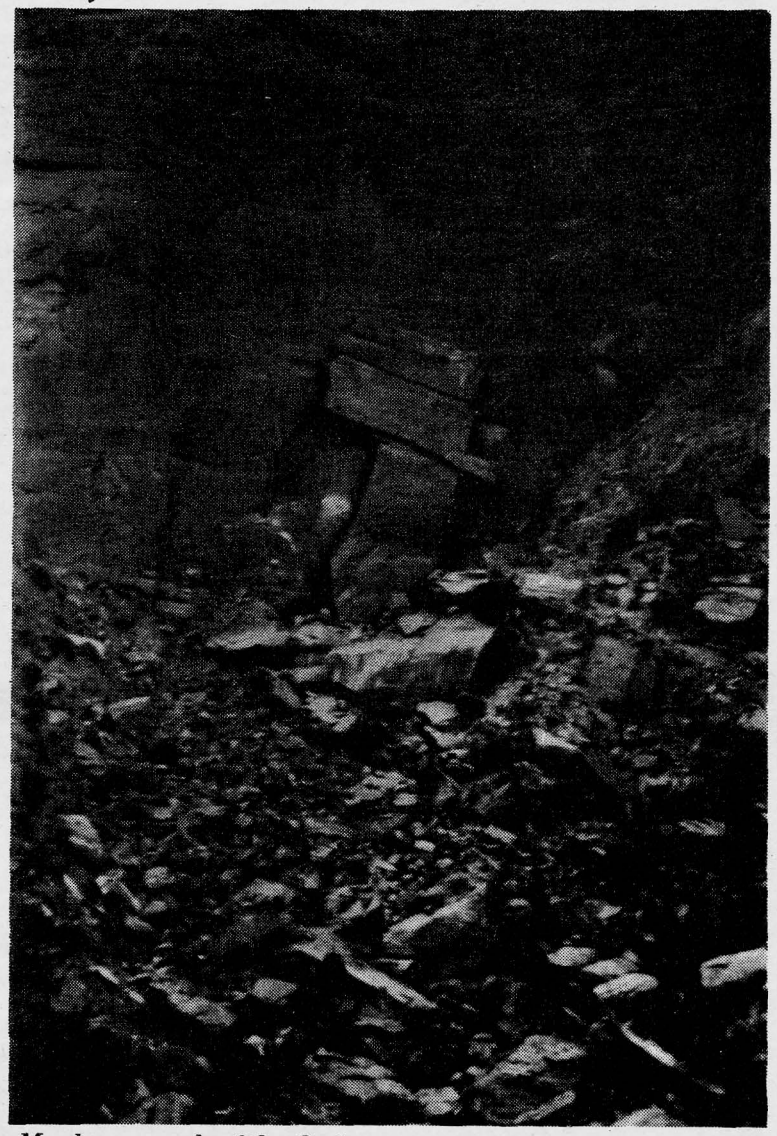
I agree with the philosophy behind the adage: always pull up survey stakes. But like any adage, blind adherence to it can be counterproductive. For example: when the piss firs sell an area to be clearcut they sell a defined acreage and someone goes out and ribbons the boundary. If the fallers don't find a ribbon line they're happy to keep right on cutting. The more they cut the more $ they make. Also, clearcuts are not usually resurveyed between logging and replanting, so while the loggers get extra acres of profit the planters must plant them for free. The raper profits and the healer loses.

If you come across ribbons for a clearcut, don't just remove them but move them toward the center. If you have the time for it, it might be more helpful to move road survey stakes too, rather than just removing them. Send those cat-skinners on a few wild goose chases, too.

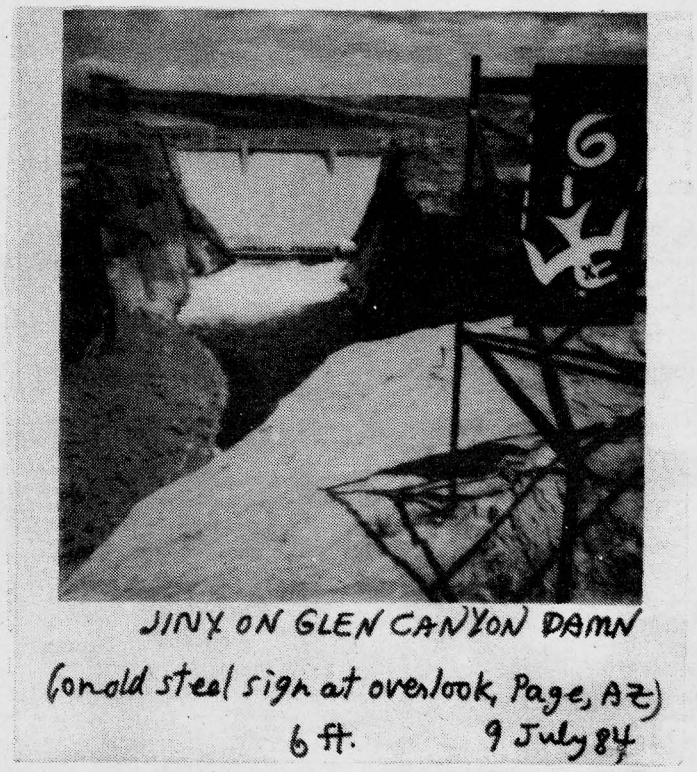
Be careful not to breathe the fumes from heated galvanized.

Why not wear a hat when releasing the air from tires by the use of a sharp object in the middle of the night?

– d'Enqui o'Tea
The Mountains



Monkeywrench of the Gods – somewhere in Utah.



Green Eagle strikes Glen Canyon Damn.

MIKE ROSELLE OFF TO JAPAN & AUSTRALIA

Earth First! direct action specialist Mike Roselle will represent the US EF! movement at the Japan Green Party's conference in October. From there he will travel to Australia to link up with John Seed's Nomadic Action Group for a couple of months to learn firsthand how the Aussies do it and to let them know how we do it. This is an extremely important trip for the international Earth First! movement and Mike will make many good contacts and bring back a wealth of experience to help Earth First! actions in America. The budget for his trip is $1500 (approx.). If you would like to contribute, send a check to the Earth First! Foundation, POB 5871, Santa Fe, NM 87501. Note that it is for the Mike Roselle Japan/Australia trip. Mike will be leaving the last week in September so send in your contributions today.

ARMED WITH VISIONS

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FOOTPRINTS IN THE SNOW

You gotta be crazy
to walk out in that cold,
a little bit lonesome
to need that much room to think.
Most times I just don't know
but the air is so sweet
where the pinyon grows
and the canyon exposes
the beauty that lies within.

De Grow
Dolores

This graphic is from an AEC pamphlet issued in 1957. The pamphlet advised ranchers not to worry if their geiger counters went crazy.

GHOST DANCE

(excerpt from Sec. VI.)

Why have we been so cautious damning the
metal beast?
who are we protecting?
edward teller?
adolf hitler?
joseph stalin?
david rockefeller?
who in the hell are we protecting?
standard fucking oil?
I would give over all the bosses & engines
of standard oil & and all the other oils
for one fine long-fingered body of wilderness
stretching unbroken through every city
& county of america. . .

Bill Herron
San Francisco

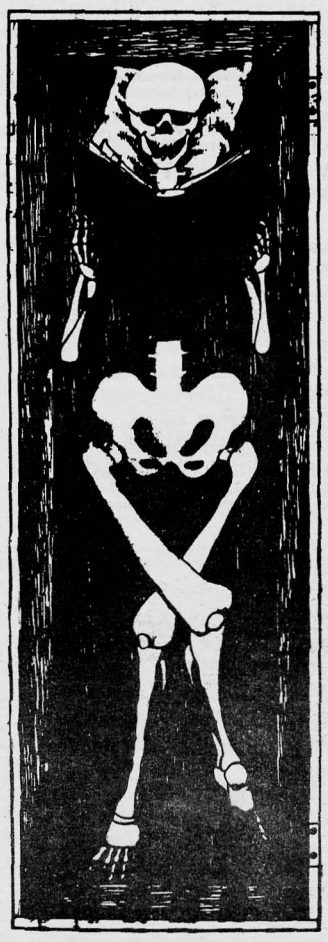
3 SKETCHES OF THE FLOW

Shovel Hollow Creek

The breath of March. The crow's scattered plumage under overhanging bank. A walking stick supports me till it cracks-- splashes me through pages in the album of your portraits, sun and shadow, arms and legs through water-- as an owl lifts from the skeleton of elm.

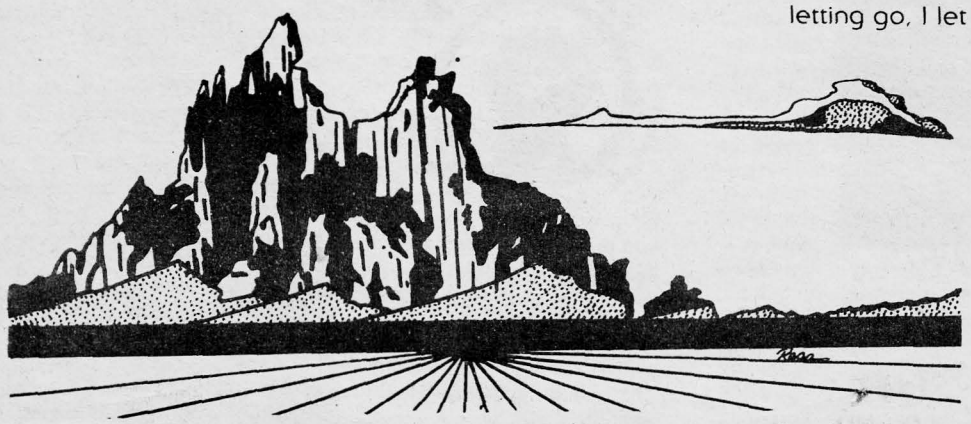
Quig Hollow Brook

The salmon light of April on the weeds.
A rusting plow. The sharp-shinned hawk's flight stolen
by the ridge. I squat in pinewoods, sifting owl-scat,
saving you bones of mouse. At the brook's womb, I
will scoop the starless mud, fill a soup can for the
slender sprout, a woman too, who greens within the night.



Vandermark Creek

The flash of fingerling on wet fly, moment colored by a memory: May's red squirrel sunning in a frosted juneberry. The kingfisher's dive, the junction with the minnow's course. I listen as the bluebird warbles like it did when we were here as one, as fiddleheads fern beyond the forest-edge, as in letting go, I let the brown trout go.



Walt Franklin
Rexville

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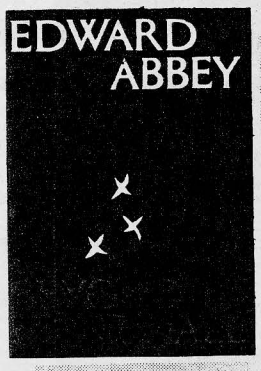
Beyond the Wall

By Edward Abbey

What do Wallace Stegner, Edward Hoagland, Jim Harrison, Thomas McGuane, and James Dickey have in common with Larry McMurtry? They all agree that Abbey is "the Thoreau of the American West."

Here is Abbey at his best on a lyrical journey through miraculous, wild places from Alaska to Mexico—well beyond the constraining wall of contemporary life.



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The US Geological Survey sells you their topo maps for $2.25 and most private dealers charge $3.50 or more. Earth First! sells them to you for only $2.00! To order, simply send us a list of the maps you want (in alphabetical order by state specifying 7½ to 15 minute quads) with a check to "Earth First!" at $2.00 each. *There is a minimum order of 5 maps or $10.* Be sure to use the correct USGS name and s[illegible] your maps or there [illegible] delay in orderi[illegible] be shipped [illegible]u by USG[illegible] receive then[illegible]ks from the time y[illegible] us your order. Contac[illegible] USGS (or EF!) for state indices. Order maps from Earth First!, 230 West 7th Ave., Chico, CA 95926. Special USGS maps (National Parks, States, 1:250,000 and others costing $3.60 from USGS) are $3.00 from Earth First!.

No map orders filled until Sept 15

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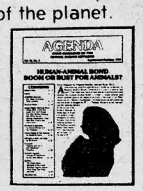
A movement is being built to challenge these forms of exploitation and the cultural attitudes that go with them. Nature alienation wounds our society; the healing requires political action.

Read about it in AGENDA, the independent, bi-monthly newsmagazine of the rapidly growing animal rights/liberation movement.

AGENDA'S 25 contributing editors keep you in touch with the action for improved relations with the rest of the planet.



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Forest Planning magazine watch-dogs John Crowell and the Forest Service as they attempt to drastically increase timber cutting on the national forests. Recent issues of *Forest Planning* have exposed Crowell's program to exaggerate the costs of wildlife protection, his plans to ignore the five-year reforestation standard, and his orders to revise plans which didn't propose as much timber cutting as he'd like.

Forest Planning is published by CHEC, a non-profit forestry consultant firm which is dedicated to providing environmental groups with technical expertise at a reasonable cost. CHEC has reviewed one-third of all the forest plans published so far, and has found serious problems with all of them. CHEC's review of the Santa Fe Forest Plan, for example, led the Forest Service to withdraw the Plan for revision.

Forest Planning is published eleven times a year and costs $15 for individuals and non-profit groups. (The Forest Service has to pay $20 and timber companies must pay $25.) You can order it by writing CHEC, P.O. Box 3479, Eugene, Oregon 97403.

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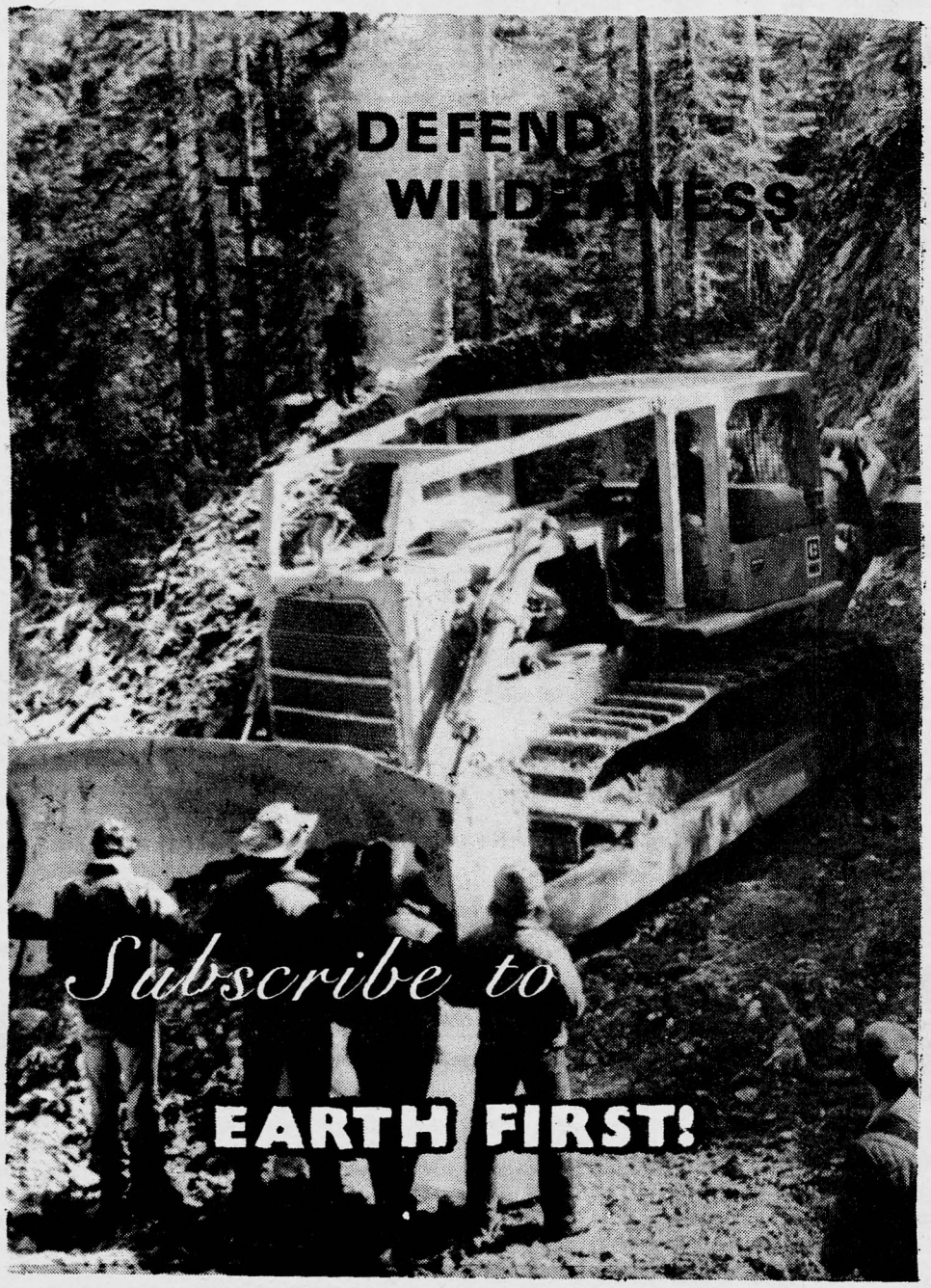

Subscriptions to **Earth First!** fund most of the work of the Earth First! movement: the Bald Mountain Road Blockade, the RARE II lawsuit, EF! state wilderness proposals, expenses for traveling EF! organizers and much more. Not to mention publishing the most exciting and innovative publication in the environmental movement! With more subscribers, we can not only reach more environmental activists with the Earth First! message but we will also have more money to do the hard work of no-compromise conservation: fighting the destruction of the tropical rainforests by American corporations, opposing the Canyonlands Nuke Dump, preventing the construction of additional dams on the Tuolumne River, developing ecologically reasonable wilderness proposals for national forest and BLM lands, maintaining SWAAT Teams (Save Wilderness At Any Time) to immediately leap to the defense of threatened wildernesses, and inspiring the environmental movement to operate with ethics, vision, passion and courage.

Our goal is to double the number of paid subscribers to **Earth First!** during the next year. And we need your help! Awareness of **Earth First!** is best spread by word of mouth. YOU can help us reach more tree-huggers and sagebrush-lovers. YOU can help us fight for natural diversity wherever it is threatened. And to further encourage you to help us gain more subscribers, we are launching the GREAT **EARTH FIRST!** SUBSCRIPTION CONTEST. Prizes will be given for the number of new subscriptions you help us get:

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*** SECOND PRIZE – Any regularly scheduled backpack trip with Howie Wolke's Wild Horizons Expeditions in the Northern Rocky Mountains or the deserts of Utah or Arizona. (Minimum 20 new subscriptions to qualify.)**

*** THIRD PRIZE – 3-day Llama pack trip for 2 in the Southern Oregon wilderness with Siskiyou Llama Expeditions. (Minimum *20 new subscriptions to qualify.*)**

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The new **EF!** subscription blank has a space "Referred By." Put your name in that space for any gift subscriptions (or for your own resubscription – that counts, too). Write us for extra copies of **EF!** to give to others to encourage them to subscribe. Put your name in the "Referred By" space in the subscription form in all of those copies of **EF!.** Or send us the names and addresses of people to whom we should send free sample copies of **Earth First!.** We'll mark your name in the "Referred By" space in all those copies we send out. All subscriptions coming in will be tallied. As soon as you get 5 or 10 subscriptions credited to you, we'll let you know and you can order your prize. The GRAND PRIZE (and Second and Third) will be determined on November 1, 1984.

*** EXTRA COPIES OF EARTH FIRST! AVAILABLE**

Spread the word about Earth First! Contact us to arrange for extra copies of *EF!* to distribute in your area. If you can make good use of extra copies, we will bulk ship a dozen or two to you every issue. *Try to get others to subscribe!* Write us at 230 W 7th Ave, Chico, CA 95926 for this.

We also have back issues of *EARTH FIRST!* available. Let us know which issue(s) you would like a copy(ies) of. Please send $1 postage (first class) for each copy or appropriate third class postage for several. Back issues should be ordered from POB 235, Ely, NV 89301. Back issues available are:

YULE Dec. 21, 1981: EF! Road Show overview, tree spiking, EF! Preserves.

BRIGID Feb. 2, 1982: Oil & Gas Leasing in Wilderness Areas, Dave Foreman's EF! article reprinted from the *Progressive.*

EOSTAR Mar. 20, 1982: Nukedump in Canyonlands, Mardie Murie Interview, Coors Boycott.

BELTANE May 1, 1982: Little Granite Creek (Gros Ventre) Oil Rig, G-O Road. How Seismic Survey Crews Work, Jail: A Primer (Preparing for Civil Disobedience Arrest).

LITHA June 21, 1982: McKinley Grove Sequoias Threatened, 22 Things to do as an EF!er

SAMHAIN Nov. 1, 1982: BLM Wilderness Corruption in Utah Exposed, Abbey on Books & Gurus, Closing Roads, Forest Service Assault on Big Wilderness, Nuclear War as an Ecological Issue, Guidelines on EF! Wilderness Proposals.

YULE/BRIGID Dec. 21, 1982: Battle of Salt Creek, Nightcap (Australia), Bisti, Closing Roads, Primeval Wilderness Management, Earth Bonding (very few copies left).

EOSTAR Mar 21, 1983: Franklin River (Australia), Salt Creek Arrests, Kalmiopsis & Siskiyous, Deciduous Forest Preserve, Ned Ludd's Tool Box: The Cutting Torch, Dismantle the Wilderness Act!, Road Show Diary, Bisti Circus, Creative Littering.

BELTANE May 1, 1983: Kalmiopsis Blockade, Canyon Country Issues, What You Can Do As An EF!er, How To Form An EF! Local Group, California Desert, Privatization, Australian Rainforest.

LITHA June 21, 1983: Wilderness War in Oregon, Wilderness Preserve System & Map, EF! & Watt At Lake Foul, Franklin River Victory (Australia), Ed Abbey: Conscience of the Conquerer.

SAMHAIN Nov. 1, 1983: Sinkyone Blockade, Forest Wilderness Campaign, Rainforest Burgers, Bald Mountain in Retrospect, Earth First!: The First Three Years, Review of *Conservation Biology,* Salt Creek as an Epic Poem.

YULE Dec. 22, 1983: Freddies Attack Wilds, Why the Forest Service Sucks, Utah Wilderness Proposal, Black Rock Desert, Sinkyone, Greenpeace in Siberia, Coors.

BRIGID Feb. 2, 1984: Oregon RARE II Suit, Idaho Wilderness, Forest Service Arrogance Unveiled, Smoke Bombs, Stopping Trapping, Coors Invades Shenandoah.

EOSTAR March 20, 1984: Burger King Protest Set, Shipwrecked Environmentalism, Solomon Islands, Bald Mt. Road Crumbles, Southern Utah Wilderness, Dave Brower: Muir's Disciple, Tree Spiking.

OUT OF PRINT ISSUES: Aug. 1, 1982, Sept. 21, 1982, Aug. 1, 1983, Sept. 23, 1983.

Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal is an independent entity within the broad Earth First! movement and serves as a forum for the no-compromise environmental movement. Subscriptions go to publish this newspaper *and* to fund a variety of Earth First! actions. **Please subscribe or resubscribe today!**

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Introduce others to *Earth First!* and receive the EF! bumpersticker of your choice, 10 silent agitators or a little monkey wrench for each gift subscription you make. Indicate what you would like on the subscription form.

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ANYONE BUT REAGAN
Red and blue on white. Be the first on your block to have one.

NEW BUMPER STICKERS!

Subvert the Dominant Paradigm
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Sing Back the Swan
Another Mormon on Drugs
Vote Green
Malthus Was Right

All are on green type with long-lasting white vinyl.

AND TWO GREAT NEW FLAG BUMPERSTICKERS ...
American Wilderness – Love it or Leave it Alone
EARTH FIRST!

Red, white and blue American flag with green lettering on white long-lasting vinyl. $1.25 postpaid.

EARTH FIRST! WINDOW STICKERS

Green Earth First! Fist with words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in green on 3-inch diameter white vinyl. 4 for $1 pp.

CAMO CAPS

We've now got a variety of camouflage baseball caps. There is a 100% cotton back and front in woodland camo, and a cotton front with a mesh in *either* woodland or desert camo. All are imprinted with the EF! fist logo and the words "EARTH FIRST! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" in white. Specify which style you want or we'll just send you whichever we have in most supply. $8 postpaid.

SILENT AGITATORS

Fun to stick anywhere—bar, bathrooms, Freddie offices dead bulldozers, etc.

COORS—Black words on yellow paper:
Coors is Anti-Earth
Coors is Anti-Women
Coors is Anti-Labor
AND IT TASTES AWFUL!
BOYCOTT COORS

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EARTH FIRST! TOOLS – The Monkeywrench and Warclub crossed in brown, the words "EARTH FIRST!" in green. 1⅝-inch diameter. 30 for $1.25 pp.

GOOD NEWS

We have about 20 first edition hardcover copies of *Good News*, Ed Abbey's outstanding novel of after the fall of civilization. All are signed by Abbey. These are definitely collector's items and we are charging accordingly! $20 postpaid. They won't last so order yours now.

T-SHIRTS

BETTER SHIRTS – HIGHER PRICES

After watching Roselle's beer-belly become progressively more exposed after each time he washed his T-shirts. I decided to switch most of our styles to Haines Beefy-T's. They're still 100% cotton, but they come longer, shrink less, are a heavier weave, last longer and are a much better quality T-shirt. They also cost us 60¢ apiece more so we're going to have to raise our price to you by 50¢ apiece. We know you'll like the improvement in our shirts and we're sorry about the necessary increase in price.

– Nancy

TOOLS – John Zaelit's powerful impression of wilderness defense both old and new. Black design on tan or blue. 100% cotton.

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NEW SHIRT!

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EF! Window Stickers (4)	$ 1.00
Monkeywrenches	$ 1.00
EF! Camouflage Baseball Caps	$ 8.00
1985 Earth First! Calendar	$ 6.00
1985 Western Wilderness Calendar	$ 8.00
1985 Yosemite Calendar	$ 9.00
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Beyond the Wall	$25.00
Good News	$20.00

EARTH FIRST! TRINKETS ORDER FORM

Make out checks to "Earth First!" or send cash. Mail to: Earth First!, POB 235, Ely, NV 89301. Write us for details on wholesale orders. Please send cash for orders of $5 or less. Please allow 5 weeks for delivery (contact us if it has not been received by then). First class delivery can be arranged.

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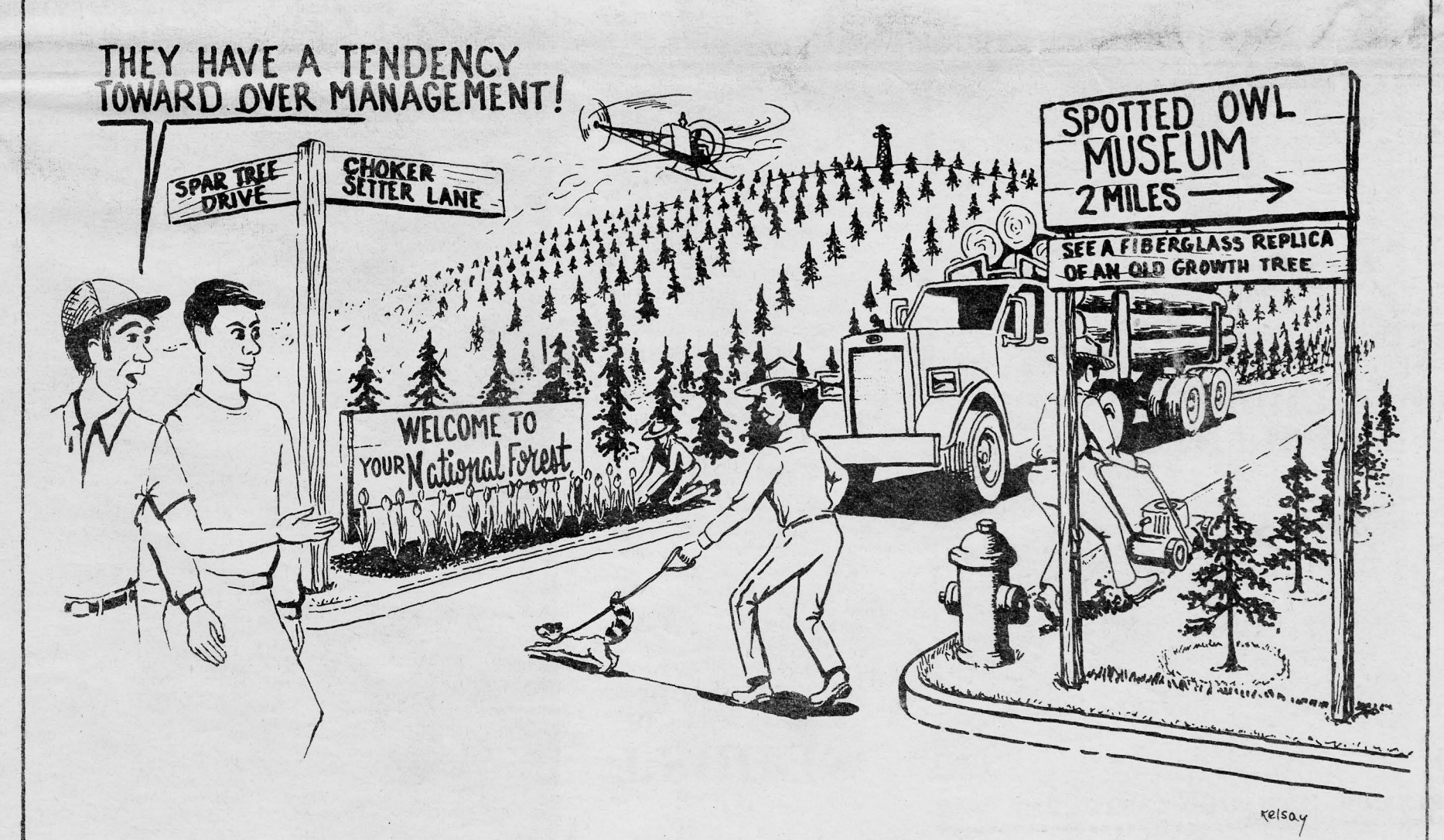
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